







WILLIAM PENN

MAKERS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

WILLIAM PENN

BY

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BY

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LIFE OF
WILLIAM PENN

BY
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PREFACE

THE materials for a biography of William Penn, as a distinguished member of the Society of Friends, and as the Founder of Pennsylvania, are abundant. For the most part, they have been faithfully used. Joseph Besse, who made the first collection of his numerous writings, prefixed to them a sketch of his life, with an appendix, made up of many of his principal religious letters. The French work, by Marsillac, (*"Vie de Guillaume Penn,"* 1792, 8vo., two volumes in one,) is a compilation judiciously made, and contains some Pennsylvania documents. The magazines, encyclopædias, and biographical dictionaries, add some valuable materials, as do also several of the journals and letters of leading Quakers, contemporary with Penn. Clarkson had access to the family papers in possession of Penn's grandson in England, and his volumes, written with all the wisdom and candor of the author, contain but a very few inaccuracies. Ebeling's "History of Pennsylvania" affords, in its early chapters, translated by Peter S. Duponceau, and printed in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," in the main, a just view of the Proprietor.

On this side of the water, William Penn has found, among our own historians and antiquarians,

faithful guardians of his memory, and devoted approvers of his whole course through life. Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," the least recommendation of which is its style, is careful and accurate. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has been most assiduous in collecting every document and fact relating to William Penn, and its labors have been eminently successful. The letters and papers with which its seven half volumes, already published, are enriched, are of the highest value. While all its members have engaged zealously in this work, two of them, J. Francis Fisher and John F. Watson, deserve especial mention, for their careful researches and rich contributions. A well written and accurate sketch of Penn's life, chiefly confined, however, to his religious labors, with large extracts from his writings, by Enoch Lewis, is given in "The Friends' Library," Vol. V. (Philadelphia, 1841.) Other sources of information are referred to in the notes.

WILLIAM PENN

CHAPTER I

Ancestry of William Penn.—Admiral Sir William Penn.—His public Services.—The Mother of William Penn.—Family.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania, was descended from a family distinguished for character as well as for social standing. His ancestors, five centuries ago, dwelt at the village of Penn, in Buckinghamshire, and gave their name to several localities in the neighborhood. From a branch of the family, residing at Penn's Lodge, near Myntie, in Gloucestershire, descended Giles Penn, a captain in the royal navy, and English Consul in the Mediterranean. George, his eldest son, was a merchant in Spain, where he was cruelly imprisoned by the Inquisition for three years.*

William, the second son of Giles, and the father of the proprietary of Pennsylvania, was born in 1621. He adopted the profession of his father, and earned many high distinctions, besides that of having for his son the Quaker legislator. His monument, in the

* See his petition for redress to Cromwell; also the petition of his nephew, our subject, to Queen Anne, 1712, 1713, given in Granville Penn's "Memorials of Admiral Penn," Vol. I. Appendix.

Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, at Bristol, records that he "was made captain at the year of twenty-one, rear-admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, vice-admiral of Ireland at twenty-five, admiral to the Straits at twenty-nine, vice-admiral of England at thirty-one, and general in the first Dutch war at thirty-two; whence returning, anno 1655, he was parliamentary representative for the town of Weymouth; 1660, made commissioner of the admiralty and navy, governor of the town and fort of Kingsale, vice-admiral of Munster, and a member of that provincial council; and anno 1664, was chosen great captain commander, under his Royal Highness, in that signal and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet." He died in his fiftieth year.

The thorough manner in which this naval officer performed his first service of suppressing the Irish rebellion, seems to have won for him his successive promotions. He commanded the sea forces in the expedition designed by Cromwell against Hispaniola, the ill-success of which is said not to rest with the Admiral, but with Colonel Venables, who commanded the land forces. In his journal * of this expedition we find mention of the death of our own Winslow, of Plymouth colony. During the Commonwealth, the services of Admiral Penn were numerous, and well rewarded, though he did not escape the jealousies incident then, as now, to envied places and divided responsibilities. His circumstances, like those of many moderate men, and especially those in the naval service who labored for the common in-

* In Granville Penn's "Memorials" of him.

terest of both parties in the State, enabled him to avoid identifying himself or his fortunes with the doomed republican cause. He forestalled some favor at the Restoration, without being indebted for it to any treacherous meanness to individuals, or to the interests which he had espoused. Of very few public men, at that time, could it be said, that they transferred their titles and offices from a republican to a royal tenure without breach of faith or honor. Soldiers on land had been engaged in civil warfare, and the strife in the pulpits had committed their occupants, if they were sincere, to a rising or a sinking party; but those who fought upon the seas, though holding commissions from the Parliament, were rallied by the cry of England.

After the Restoration, Admiral Penn commanded in 1665, under the Duke of York, in the terrible sea-fight with the Dutch, for which he won honor and knighthood, and attained to court privileges of acquaintance and influence. It was from the unpaid debts due to him for his public services, and from obligations contracted to him, that his distinguished son afterwards received such patronage, and advanced the claim, which was scarcely discharged by the bestowal of lands in the New World. The admiral was likewise the author of several small tracts and other works for improving the naval service, which had a value in their day, and perhaps cost more labor and experience than those which have been written since. He was patriotic, simple hearted, pure, and truly religious, as a Protestant of the Church of England. His family pride, increased by

the additions which he himself had made to its distinctions, was sorely offended, as we shall see, by the religious profession adopted by his son, though the offence yielded to admiration of that son's sincerity.

The relations between the English and the Dutch, at that time, were not wholly hostile. Indeed, the family histories of that era disclose a remarkable number of intermarriages, when the ships of the two nations were contending for the dominion of the seas. The Admiral married Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam. She was a noble woman, religious, indulgent, yet judicious. Her son was largely indebted to her maternal faithfulness for his early character, and her kindness and respect sustained him, when the first anger of the father, in finding that he had a Quaker for a son, turned him out of doors before he had attained to manhood/

A journal kept by the Admiral begins with his sailing from Deptford, Saturday, October 12th, 1644, two days before the birth of William. The frequent absences from home, which the naval service required of him, must have deprived him of much parental oversight of the early years of his son. When that son was engaged in the warm controversies of his new profession, he appeared as the vindicator of his father from unjust aspersions upon his courage and integrity, cast upon him after his death. An anonymous reviewer of the account, which the young Quaker published of his own trial, had made use of the occasion to cast these reflections

upon the Admiral. The son was ready to reply, and he devoted a portion of his rejoinder to vindicate his father's honesty and spirit. "Not that I would be thought to justify wars," he says; "I know they arise from lusts." But this does not hinder that he should state matters of fact.*

The Admiral had a second son, Richard Penn, who survived him about three years, dying in April, 1673; also one daughter, Margaret Penn, who married Anthony Lowther, of Mask, Yorkshire, and died in 1681-2; her branch of the family became extinct in the fourth generation.

* "Truth rescued from Imposture," &c. Part III. "A Vindication of my deceased Father's Reputation from the False and Unworthy Reflections of this Scandalous Libeller." Penn's "Works," 2 vols. fol. Vol. I. p. 496.

CHAPTER II

Birth and Education of William Penn.—His Early Religious Impressions.—Enters Christ's Church, Oxford.—The Influence of Thomas Loe over him.—Is fined for Nonconformity.—Is expelled from the University.—The Anger of his Father.—Is turned out of Doors.—The Spirit of William.—Is sent to travel in France.—Studies at Saumur.—Is recalled.—Enters Lincoln's Inn.—Leaves London on Account of the Plague.

THE proprietary of the province of Pennsylvania was born in St. Catharine's Parish, Tower Hill, London, October 14th, 1644. The country residence of his parents being then at Wanstead, he was sent to the free grammar school at Chigwell, Essex, which had been recently founded by Harsnett, Archbishop of York. His first and strongest religious impressions are ascribed to his boyhood in this school. While he was but eleven years of age, he was the subject of those deep exercises of spirit, which, in the language of the time, are represented almost as miraculous. Alone in his chamber, an external brightness around him seemed to answer to a mysterious motion within; and thus early was confirmed to him the great fundamental principle of his subsequent faith, that there is an inward light in man, which attests the capacity of his soul for holding immediate intercourse with God. He regarded

himself as called, by this experience, to a consecration of heart and life to the service of his Maker.

He was removed from Chigwell at the age of twelve, that he might be near his father's town residence, and enjoy more advantages of education in a private school, on Tower Hill, and in the help of a private tutor at home. Great pains seem to have been bestowed upon him, and not in vain; for he was a ready scholar, and his subsequent writings give proof of an accurate attainment in elementary principles, and of a wide extent of mental discipline. His healthful frame and bodily strength, in maturer years, were evidence, however, that he was not sheltered in tender seclusion, but engaged in those usual sports and amusements which are the best education of the body.

William Penn was entered as a gentleman commoner, at Christ Church College, Oxford, at the age of fifteen. Amid many close friendships which he formed here, based upon moral and intellectual affinities, he numbered among his companions John Locke, to whom he offered service at the time of his expatriation in Holland. A specimen of young Penn's scholarship, at this time, is preserved in a brief Latin elegy, which was published in 1660, in a volume embracing several similar pieces, written by members of Oxford University, on the lamented decease of the Duke of Gloucester, second brother of Charles the Second.

The early religious impressions of the young student, which had not been effaced, were renewed and deepened, at this time, by the exhortations of

Thomas Loe. The numerous Quaker historians and writers, contemporaneous with this period, make frequent mention of the labors and imprisonments of this famous lay preacher, to whom Penn attributed his own conversion to their principles. Having once belonged to the university, which he left for the sake of his new profession, he occasionally visited it, in his itinerary ministry, and succeeded in gaining the devout attention of several of its students, while, as a matter of course, he was ridiculed and harassed by others. Of Penn, as of many other founders and prominent disciples of great sects, we may advance the paradoxical sentence, that he had already received, of his own instinctive tendencies, the views which he apparently embraced from the teaching of another. He was in fact a Quaker, before he became one by conscious or professed adhesion to Quaker principles. The doctrines, which that eminently Christian society advocated, were but a published index of the contents of many devout hearts and struggling minds. Penn at once responded to the earnest appeals of Thomas Loe, and, with a small band of his college companions, he forsook the ritual services, which the restored monarch had set up, for more congenial worship of their own, in their private apartments. All who were concerned in this grave offence were discovered, and, not denying the charge, or foregoing the practice, were fined for nonconformity. Though the fine was paid, it did not absolve wounded consciences. Penn and his companions proceeded to imitate an example, which older men had but lately set, and to insult the forms which

they could not respect. The King had ordered that the students should resume their claim to their ancient title of gownsmen, and should never appear without their surplices. This Popish and formal costume, so at war, as the young converts of a simple and unadorned faith esteemed it to be, with true spirituality, excited their zeal, and they fell upon students who were thus habited in public, and tore from them their robes. For this outrage, the offenders were at once expelled from the university.

William Penn, the father, then a commissioner of the Admiralty, was enjoying his court privileges and his fashionable acquaintances at London, cherishing, all the while, hopes of high distinction for his heir; when that heir returned home, announcing his disgrace, and more than all, and worse than all, speaking and appearing with the solemn seriousness of those devout persons, whom the naval officer regarded as canting hypocrites or moon-struck fools. The offending son had but a cold reception. In vain did his father expostulate and argue with him upon his affectation of religious scruples, and the barrier which they would oppose to his worldly success. Passing from words to the weightier discipline, which he had practiced on shipboard, he proceeded to beat his son, and, failing to subdue his spirit, at once forbade him the house, and drove him from it in a fit of sudden passion. The intercessions of his wife, and the relentings of his own bosom, temporarily appeased his anger, and his son was restored to his home.

It must have required no small measure of moral

courage, in a youth then in his eighteenth year, thus to forego the attractions of social life, which opened to him, and resolutely to thwart the earnest wishes of an honored parent. But something more deep and high than worldly prudence influenced the mind of the son. The religious spirit, which in his later years assumed a most calm and rational tone, was now unnaturally excited. Like the other eminent founders of his religious connection, he believed in immediate and miraculous communications made to his own mind, in a way which admitted of their being defined, expressed, and regarded as demonstrative of duty and prophetic of the future. In one of his many letters to his friend Robert Turner, then in Dublin, in 1681, when he was the proprietary of Pennsylvania, Penn makes this mysterious reference: "This I can say, that I had an opening of joy, as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford." * With such a revelation waiting to be realized, he might well renounce the worldly views which his father proposed to him.

His father determined on a measure, which has generally been found to have proved itself very effectual, not only in eradicating gravity and seriousness, but in implanting most opposite tendencies. He sent his son to France, in company with some persons of rank, in 1662, in order that he might be subjected to the accomplishments and gayety, which travel and residence there would be most likely to recommend. Of his stay in Paris he afterwards

* "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 203.

records one single incident, which vindicates his claim to be alike a gentleman of honor and a Christian. He was attacked in the street, one evening, by a person who was affronted because his salutation of raising the hat, which Penn says he did not see, was not returned. Our young traveller, lacking three years of manhood, (whether armed or not, he does not tell us,) immediately stood to the combat with his antagonist, and disarmed him. So far, the bystanders beheld a scene which Paris afforded daily; but when the victor had the life of his antagonist in his power, and might, without harm from police or law, have run him through, he was satisfied with returning to him his sword, and the true salutation of Christian forbearance.

Of course such a one as Penn took no pleasure in the dissipation of Paris; but the opportunities of wise observation would not be lost upon him.* He soon left the capital, to reside for some months at Saumur, to enjoy the instruction of the famous Calvinistic divine and professor, Moses Amyrault, the friend of Cardinal Richelieu, to whom that prelate imparted his bold design for uniting the Roman and Protestant churches. With this learned theologian, William Penn renewed the studies, which had been summarily closed at Oxford, becoming a thorough

*It was while on this visit to France, that Penn became acquainted with the Earl of Sunderland, whom he afterwards found a serviceable friend. The fact is expressly stated by Penn, in a letter written to Sunderland, in 1683. See "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. II. Part I. p. 244. This statement, of course, negatives a story in the biographies of Penn. that the Earl, as Robert Spencer, had been one of his fellow-nonconformists at Oxford.

proficient in the French language, which greatly facilitated his extensive missionary labors on the Continent some years afterwards, and reading the fathers, and other standard works of theology, the good use of which appears in his numerous writings. He had reached Turin, on an intended tour through Italy, when he was recalled to the care of the family at home, by a letter from his father, announcing his necessary absence to take command of the fleet against the Dutch. He returned to England in 1664.

When Penn was afterwards on trial for the offence of illegal preaching, he was taunted by his judge with having been guilty of common youthful levities and immoralities, and his strictness of manners was represented as only a revulsion from former dissipation. Reference was supposed to be made to his life when abroad. Penn repelled the charge with the indignation of a calm but most resolute denial, and challenged any one to bear witness to any departure on his part from the strictest morality. His accuser probably spoke from his own experience of himself. It is certain that Penn's challenge, uttered by a pure conscience, was received in silence. He had acquired abroad more liveliness of manners, with something of the polish and courtesy of his foreign companions; and his father was barely satisfied with these attainments, though attended by no loss of seriousness.*

* Pepys, who was officially connected and very intimate with the Admiral and his family, enters in his Diary, under date of August 26th, 1664, "Mr. Penn, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife; a most modish person, grown, she says, a fine gentleman." Vol. II. p. 214.

In compliance with the wishes of his father, Penn entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, that he might acquaint himself with the laws of his country, and with more knowledge of the world. His residence here was cut short, in about a year, by the Great Plague, which induced him to leave London, in 1665, just as he became of age. | The horrors of that calamity must have added yet more seriousness to his mind. Whatever knowledge of law he had acquired was destined to be of real use to him, when he became the legislator of a colony in the New World.

The portrait of him, painted about this time, presents a handsome young man with flowing locks, but by no means of a fashionable or gay appearance, though clad in armor.

CHAPTER III

Penn's and Barclay's Services to the Quakers.—Rise and Origin of the People called Quakers.—State of the Times.—Religious Novelties.—Wandering Preachers.—George Fox.—Excesses of the early Quakers.—Their Virtues and Endurance.—Principles of the Society.

WILLIAM PENN and Robert Barclay are the names of the two most eminent members of the Society of Friends. They may be entitled to an equal measure of pure and desirable fame, the former as the practical, the latter as the theoretical, champion of their principles. But if services are to be weighed and measured by actual sum and cost, Penn, both in the labors of his life and of his pen, will receive the higher estimate. Barclay's father approved and favored the devotion of his son to a despised sect; but Penn, as we have seen, found his first foe in his best friend. Through the whole of his subsequent life, his principles cost him a large amount of suffering of body and of mind; a loss of friends, and honors, and property; a subjection to insults and reproaches. They weighed with such a burden of care upon his active career, and were attended with such a disappointment of his most cherished wishes at his death, that we pronounce upon him the highest but well-deserved encomium in saying, that, had he

foreseen the course and issue of his life, he would not have shrunk from it.

Some brief account of the origin and principles of the Society of which he was so eminent a member will properly introduce his own connection with it at an early period of his life.

The word *Quaker* will be freely used in this narrative, and it need scarcely be said by the writer that he intends no offence in thus continuing the use of an epithet, which was first applied in scorn. The distinguished virtues which have been associated with it have made it honorable. Indeed, Penn, and other members of the Society, used the term in their public writings, and felt no unwillingness to be designated by it, while ridicule and contempt were still associated with it. The epithet has passed through a transmutation like to that which has altered the popular use of the word *Christian* from the signification which it once had.

The Quakers, originally called, by themselves and by others, *Professors*, *Children of the Light*, and *Friends*, did more, at the period of their origin, to revive and impress anew the great vital principles of Christianity, than any other sect before or since their time has done. The active life of Penn extended through the most interesting portion of the history of the Society. The age which produced the sect exhibited a most remarkable and intensely agitated state of thought and feeling. Even science, natural and physical, as well as intellectual, felt the impulse of that general renewal, which seemed then to be working upon the spirits of men. The foundation

of the Royal Society dates from the period, which in England was most fruitful in the production of innumerable religious sects.

The most appropriate motto for all the histories of the time might be given in the words of Baxter. "I know you may meet with men, who will confidently affirm, that in these times all religion was trodden under foot, and that heresy and schism were the only piety. But I give warning to all ages, that they take heed how they believe any, while they are speaking for the interest of their factions and opinions, against their real or supposed adversaries." It would have been well if Baxter himself had followed this wise rule, for this good and honored man was not wholly free from the spirit of bitterness. He says that the sect of Quakers was the last resource taken to by the Jesuits and the devil, when they found that the Seekers and Ranters would no longer serve their turn. He fell into the common opinion that the Quakers, and all other troublesome folk in those times, were disguised Papists, Jesuits, or Franciscans. The Puritan party adhered faithfully to their belief that Popery was the very "*mystery of iniquity*." Penn suffered more under the suspicion of being a Jesuit than for his confession that he was a Quaker. Bunyan, one of the eminent spirits of that period, feared that the age would be characterized by posterity, "as one which talked of religion most, and loved it least." The strange sects then abounding are ludicrously described by Edwards, Vicars, Paggitt, and Featley. A writer, who seems to have caught their living features, thus contrasts the spirit

of the two parties throughout the Stuart dynasty, by presenting "the stern and unyielding exercise of power, as operating upon the stubbornness of conscientious dissent." Sir John Reresby, whose *Memoirs* give us so much of the gossip of the courts of the second Charles and James, says, "I left England at that unhappy time, (1654,) when honesty was reputed a crime, religion superstition, loyalty treason; when subjects were governors, servants masters, and no gentleman was assured of anything he possessed."

Intestine troubles, enthusiasm, and religious dissensions had prepared the minds of the people to receive any extravagance of doctrine. As Sewel, the Quaker historian, honestly says, there were an abundance of people in England, who, having searched all sects, could nowhere find satisfaction for their hungry souls. Many, who then professed to be seekers after truth themselves, took upon them the task of being teachers of it to others. A sincere and zealous wanderer from village to village, though he may be untaught, will ever gain more converts among the mass of men than a refined and scholar-like preacher. From materials already engendered were wrought out those wild and enthusiastic dogmas, all pervaded by a religious spirit, which blazed so fiercely at the time of the Commonwealth. The Puritan preachers, who had been excluded from the pulpits, found refuge in private families as tutors, or were received as religious counsellors by social circles. The Bible, but recently put within the reach of the common people, had been diligently perused,

and each reader had undertaken to interpret it for himself. The spirit of humanity and of liberty was then at work; the bright light, which was suddenly poured upon the mass of men, blinded the eyes, and confused the understandings of some of them.

Then were opened deep questions of the design of government and of religion, and men were made sensible of the oppression of preceding times, which had insisted on dead ordinances, and had denied the supplies which the mind and the heart craved. Amid the wild and fanatical spirits of the parliamentary army, it was but natural that the working of these elements should produce confusion; for the law of their just operation, and the proper guidance of them in safe channels, could not come with the first bright perception of those ultimate truths which had been attained. The army was composed of men who had long been discontented, and who were now taken from accustomed occupations of body and of mind, and were destitute of regular employment. It must of course have embraced many individuals who were ripe for any extravagance. Officers and privates were accustomed to pray and expound the Scriptures from pulpits and from the field. Many of the most enthusiastic preachers among the early Quakers, such as Hubberthorn, Ames, Dewsbury, Naylor, and Lilburne, had been in the army.

The Quakers were not, strictly speaking, an original sect, as their views and principles were selected, refined, and harmonized from a large and confused mass of opinions about religion, politics, society, and morals, which then prevailed over the northern and

central portions of England. The Familists, Antinomians, Seekers, and Ranters had successively presented to public view the phenomena, which at first drew attention to the new sect, whose members trembled or *quaked* at the word of the Lord. George Fox encountered many persons, who without any intercourse with each other, had singly come to the same conclusions, and, after hearing him, "found themselves in unison with him." Indeed, the noblest testimony which can be offered in behalf of any speculative principles and practical rules of virtue, the highest signature of truth which such principles and rules could receive, is that which from the first attached to Quakerism; for many earnest and serious minds had attained its conclusions by their own struggles, and found that the joy of mutual fellowship was the partnership in precious truth.

The pages of Edwards' "Gangræna," and of Paggitt's "Heresiography," afford plain evidence that each novel opinion, each vagary of conduct, each extravagance and eccentricity, as well as each great fundamental and living truth, which entered into the received customs and tenets of the Society of Friends, had found an advocate and example before George Fox gave out his testimony. We find that "the offence of the hat," the objection to flattering titles and ornaments of dress, to sports and profane customs, to "a hireling ministry," and to oaths, to war and persecution, had already designated single or compound heresies all over the kingdom, while the interruption of public worship, for the sake of speaking according to the witness of "the inner light,"

was a familiar misdemeanor, punishable with a penalty at common law. The Friends were in fact eclectics. They adopted what they could approve of the fruits of one and the same Spirit, which then worked in the minds of men.

Yet, while the principles of the Quakers are thus traced to the conflicts of many minds gathering their discoveries of great truths for many years, it is not necessary to question the general fame which attributes to George Fox and William Penn the enviable distinction of being the founders of the Society of Friends. They are two of the most attractive and inspiring characters of all Christian history. There is something in the narrative of Fox's life which kindles the very soul of the sympathizing reader. In no individual, grown to man's estate, did infantile innocence, with all its simple graces, ever unite with such profound spiritual apprehension, and such unswerving self-consecration, as in him.* He was born twenty years before Penn, having a mother from the stock of the martyrs, and a father who was known by his neighbors as "Righteous Christer," or Christopher. Unusual gravity, staidness, and temperance, characterized him from a child. He was

* Sir James Mackintosh describes Fox's "Journal" as "one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world which no reader of competent judgment can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer, pardoning his self-delusion, and ceasing to smile at his peculiarities." We might ask, however, if a man can be called *self-deluded*, who, having paid the spiritual price of spiritual attainments, finds them sufficient to quicken, control, and concentrate his whole nature, to fill his breast with a calm and unfaltering trust, and to enable him to be the minister of righteousness and peace to thousands of his fellow-creatures.

known through his native village of Drayton-in-the-Clay for his honesty and simplicity; as it was commonly averred, "If George says *verily*, there is no altering him." His relatives designed to make him "a priest;" but, others dissuading, he was apprenticed to a dealer in wool, shoes, and cattle.

At the age of nineteen, being scandalized at the health-drinking, which he witnessed at a fair, and being "called of the Lord one night to forsake all, both old and young, and to be to them as a stranger," he left his home, to wander alone. After roaming in the woods, and avoiding all intimacies, with some misgivings, but with weightier inward conflicts, he returned again, and for a season repeated this process of wandering and resuming his labors, without finding relief. He had had but a scanty education, and could write but rudely. While busied in his trade, his thoughts were intensely engaged on religious themes. Being regarded as a harmless lunatic, or as a victim of religious melancholy, he was generally treated with tenderness, though he wearied his friends with his disputations. The parish priest, Nathaniel Stevens, after in vain endeavoring to give peace to the mind of his controverter, was at last obliged to say from the pulpit that George Fox "was a young man tossed about with mad and unruly fancies."

But Fox accuses the preacher of delivering in sermons the thoughts and sentiments gathered from him. In a most disconsolate state, this true seeker after light wandered hither and thither, consulting different divines, as the hypochondriac does physi-

cians. In his solitary life, buffeted by the dark temptations of Satan, with agonized misgivings and distress of mind, he in vain sought relief from professors and priests. They were "but empty, hollow casks." "None reached his condition." One advised him to take tobacco and to sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing he did not love, and psalms he was in no state to sing. One priest thought that George might be in love, for he betrayed his sorrows to some milk lasses, which much displeased his patient. Another divine recommended the letting of blood; but George was so dried up with sorrows, griefs, and troubles, that he had no blood in him. He was truly in a most desolate state, dark in mind, without sympathy or counsel. He made himself a suit of leather, which was fitted for his pilgrim life, and would not need repair, and gave himself up to lonely wanderings and meditation, spending whole days in hollow trees and lonesome places, studying the Scriptures. He was afraid "to stay long in any place, lest, being a tender young man, he should be hurt by too familiar a conversation with men." He wished he were blind and deaf, that he might never see vanity or hear blasphemy.

At last, with infinite joy, Fox found what he was seeking, "joy and peace in believing." As he walked in a field, it was revealed to him that "his name was written in the Lamb's book of life." A happiness which a palace does not afford was his. The groans of the invisible spirit, and all its exercises in temptation and sin, the struggles of the flesh, the inward light of truth, the sore conflict with darkness,

all passed before him as a special manifestation of Divinity to his heart. He solved the mystery of superiority to the outward and fleshly law. The first revelation made to him was that all who were born of God were believers, whether Protestants or Papists, and that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ. Next it was opened to him that God did not dwell in temples, but in believers' hearts. Fox spent about three years in methodizing his thoughts and inspirations, before he undertook the office of a public teacher. His ministrations were so effectual, both for maladies of mind and of body, that the report was soon current, "that George Fox had a discerning spirit."

The first converts of Fox were almost exclusively from among those who had been under the influence of some of the many forms of dissent from the established faith and worship; and amid the excitable and anxious spirits of those times he found a multitude to whom his words were either as drops of balm or as sparks of fire. He endeavored to be present at all public gatherings for religion, trade, or sport. He angered the priests, but won a multitude of the people. If the Spirit gave him utterance, he prayed; but if prayer was asked of him, he said that he could not offer it at the will of others.* He did not scruple to

* Penn who wrote a preface to Fox's "Journal," says: "But above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behavior, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer."

interrupt a preacher, for he felt that he had a word of life to utter. He made his appearance at courts, as well as at "steeple houses;" he rebuked fiddlers, drunkards, swearers, and rhyme-makers; and, at the close of the year 1648, he had advanced so far into the truth that "the whole creation had another smell" to him. He had a secret insight into the nature and virtues of things, and thought of practicing physic. Full revelations of the inward light were made to his mind. It is plain that he studied the Bible with his whole heart and understanding, to the neglect of all other books; and he is a remarkable witness of the true and vital faith, so high above the dead barrenness of creeds and formularies, which the application of a severe study to the sacred text will induce.

There is a little mysticism, some extravagance, and a degree of nonsense and rhapsody, in some of his fervent expressions; but deep and ardent faith, with a searching insight into human nature, predominates. He says that the Lord forbade him to put off his hat either to the high or the low; to bid people *good morrow*, or *good evening*; to bow or scrape with his leg to any one; and enjoined him to use only *thee*, *thou*, and *thine*. "Hat honor was invented by men in the Fall." The single pronoun was in conformity with grammar and Scripture; and, though priests and professors raged at his simplicity, "many did come to see the vanity of putting off the hat." Much buffeting and thumping ensued, and many hats were lost. Many matters presented themselves to his sense of duty, as requiring reforma-

tion; such as courts of justice, drinking houses, wakes, fairs, feasts, games, May sports, mountebanks, and all sorts of music. He was particularly exercised with schoolmasters and mistresses. But the priests, and "the church bells, were the black, earthly spirits, that wounded his life."

Thus far, Fox may have been regarded as a harmless religious enthusiast, doing violence in word to many prevailing opinions, and presenting himself before the populace in opposition to their amusements. He was under the protection of sincerity in his words and demeanor. Thus far, too, he had fallen under no censure or abuse, except that of words. He had neither been whipped, fined, nor imprisoned. But now he first set an example in wrong-doing, which was readily adopted, and far exceeded by some of his first converts, and which presents him and them before us as riotous disturbers, if not as calumniators.

One Sunday morning, in 1649, as Fox approached Nottingham, and saw the "steeple house," he felt a prompting "from the Lord," to "go and cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." He deserted his own company to go on the mission, and he found that "the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest like a great lump of earth." In the course of the sermon, Fox arose and controverted the preacher; and for this offence he was committed to prison. From that time forward, he pursued his ministry with an unequalled devotion and success. Frequent confinements nourished and fed the spirit, which spoke from his heart and lips in

the intervals of his freedom. He travelled largely in both hemispheres; an apostolic aspect gave him reverence even with strangers; his well proved ministry of power raised him almost to the exaltation of an idol among his friends. He died with the armor of his warfare upon him, while William Penn, with admiring and loving devotion, watched his last hours, bore a faithful testimony to him at his grave, and edited his "Letters" and "Journal," perhaps the most unclassical, and at the same time the most engaging and impressive volumes of religious biography.

To those who are interested in the views and experiences of the early Friends, even an account of them extended through this volume would be too defective and brief. Of course, such an account cannot be looked for here. The excesses committed by some persons calling themselves Quakers, both in Old and in New England, such as outrages of language in speech and in letters, were excessively irritating, apart from all religious bearings. Even Barclay walked through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes. In New England, men and women ran about, and even entered places of worship, entirely divested of clothing, and by other gross affronts drew upon themselves inflictions, which never would have been visited upon their religious opinions, if entertained and expressed with a regard to the rights of others. These excesses were, however, soon repudiated by the true members of the Society. Penn never interrupted a religious service but once; and though he at first used the severe terms

of controversy in some of his letters, he afterwards expressed the following admirable principle: "For however differing I am from other men *circa sacra*, and that world, which, respecting men, may be said to *begin* when this *ends*, I know no religion that destroys courtesy, civility, and kindness; which, rightly understood, are great indications of true men, if not of good Christians."*

The quaint sincerity of the early Quakers was not one of the least of their peculiarities. The intensity of their love for the fresh and vigorous principles embraced in their belief, their worship, and their discipline, led them to an extreme in condemning the preferences of others. George Whithead, one of their famous preachers, said that "the singing of David's psalms became so burdensome to him that sometimes he could not join therewith; for he saw that David's conditions were not generally suitable to the states of a mixed multitude, and he found himself to be short of what they sung. He durst not sing the psalms, lest he should have told lies unto God."†

The great principles professed and most consistently regarded by the Quakers are familiar to those who have taken any proper pains to learn them. They are easily stated, for they are simple. They have a warrant in the conscience; they are conformed to the strictest interpretation of the Christian religion. The great tenet of the inward light, as the witness of God in every human breast, is well

* Penn's "Letter to Justice Fleming," in 1673.

† Sewel's "History of the People called Quakers," p. 79.

and briefly described by Penn: "He that gave us an outward luminary for our bodies, hath given us an inward one for our minds to act by."* Their peculiarities of dress, speech, and demeanor had their religious meaning, as contrasted with the gay trappings, the fawning sycophantism, and the levity, which prevailed at the time of their origin. One would prefer the sober garb of a Quaker to the vain and foppish parade of dress which Pepys, for instance, connects with his appearance at court and at church. The first expressions of Quaker principles embraced, with remarkable completeness and consistency, all the doctrines, methods, and scruples, which properly belong to the system, or could be justly inferred from it.† All individual and social abuses, oaths, war, imprisonment for debt, and capital punishments, except in extreme cases, were repudiated by the Quakers, and they cleared themselves from all participation therein.

* Penn's "Letter to William Popple."

† The following paragraph of Sir James Mackintosh falls within fair limits of candor. "Seeking perfection, by renouncing pleasures, of which the social nature promotes kindness, and by converting self-denial, a means of moral discipline, into one of the ends of life, it was their more peculiar and honorable error, that, by a liberal interpretation of that affectionate and ardent language in which the Christian religion inculcates the pursuit of peace, and the practice of beneficence, they struggled to extend the sphere of these most admirable virtues beyond the boundaries of nature. They adopted a peculiarity of language, and a uniformity of dress, indicative of humility and equality, of brotherly love, the sole bond of their pacific union, and of the serious minds of men, who lived only for the performance of duty; taking no part in strife, renouncing even defensive arms, and utterly condemning the punishment of death." "Review of the Causes of the Revolution of 1688." "Miscellaneous Works," American edition, p. 333.

They believed that the great principles of their system, like the lessons of the gospel, were equally suited for all lands and for all people. Zealous preachers, men and women, facing all perils of oceans, plagues, dungeons, and stripes, carried the message to the Pope, to the Sultan, to Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Rulers, and to the people of every clime. It is no wonder that large accessions were made to the Society of Friends, from the sterling classes of many communities, especially from the English peasantry and yeomanry. Their literature was the very perfection of cottage divinity. It is richer, plainer, more winning and far more copious, than that of the Methodist reformers of the next century.

CHAPTER IV

Penn's serious Tendencies renewed.—Sent to Ireland.—Manages his Father's Estates there.—Arrested and imprisoned.—His Letter thereupon.—Liberated and ordered Home by his Father.—Befriended by his Mother.—Becomes a Preacher, and an Author.—His first Books.—Has a public Disputation.—Publishes his "Sandy Foundation Shaken."—Imprisoned for it.—Other Writings.—Is liberated.—Sent again to Ireland.—Reconciled to his Father on his Return.

ON the return of Admiral Penn from sea, in 1666, he found, to his bitter disappointment, that the lively and fashionable air which travel had imparted to his son was but temporary, and had yielded, in his absence, to the seriousness which was inherent in his nature. Intimacy with grave persons, and interest in the grave subjects of the times, had had their natural effect upon his manners and conversation. The difference was extreme between what the young man was and what his father would have had him to be. Indeed, one remarkable characteristic of the age was, that its men and manners, its theory and its practice, were wholly uncontrolled by moderation. Scarce a single prominent character seems to have stood between the utmost freedom of licentiousness on the one hand, with all its variety of wickedness, and the ungenial moroseness of a sour pietism on the other. The Admiral would have been pleased to converse

with his son about the court and its gay pleasures, and to have had him share his own interest in obtaining some place of honor or profit. The society which he entertained at his own house, and which he visited in town, was of a kind which would be least congenial to his son, whose demure looks, and formal language, and serious conversation, would rather excite their ridicule than win their respect.

The Admiral, determined to eradicate the extreme religious tendency of his son, sent him over to the court of the Duke of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with whom he was intimately acquainted. This was then the next best school to Paris for learning the ways of pleasure, frivolity, and dissipation. The Duke received his visitor with kindness, and readily admitted him to the society of the lively and fashionable. But what Penn witnessed served only to disgust him. The very attempt to win him from seriousness, by exposing him to the fascinations of vice, served most effectually to confirm him in the more sombre and exaggerated views which associated themselves with religion in his mind.

His father, being possessed of two large estates in the county of Cork, resolved upon committing the entire management of them to him, hoping that close and absorbing employment would work an effect upon him, which social frivolities had failed to accomplish. William readily assumed the responsible charge committed to him, and sustained it so as to win the entire approval and the commendation of his father. On a visit of business to Cork, he learned

that Thomas Loe, whom he regarded as his spiritual father, was to speak at a meeting of the Quakers in that city. As might be expected, Penn resolved to remain and hear. Whether or not the zealous preacher knew that his young disciple at Oxford was in the crowd which he addressed, he could not have chosen introductory words more suited to affect that listener. His first sentence was, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." The discourse, conformed to this motto, deeply impressed William Penn, calling back and deepening his earliest religious impressions, and enlisted his feelings once for all in that sect to which the speaker belonged. Conscience seems to have made a special application to himself of the doctrine taught.

But though he did not yet join the Society of Friends, nor assume their garb, he began to attend their meetings. At one of these, September 3d, 1667, he was apprehended, with others, and carried before the Mayor, on the strength of a proclamation, which had been published seven years before, against tumultuous assemblies. The Mayor, noticing that his dress did not mark him as a Quaker, offered him his liberty if he would give a bond for his good behavior. As Penn had not failed of good behavior, he refused to accept his liberty on this condition, and was therefore imprisoned, with eighteen others. He soon availed himself of the acquaintance which he had made with men of station in Ireland, to write a letter, from his prison, to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of the Council of Munster. It is a strong,

dignified, and courteous remonstrance, stating his apprehension, not by an act of Parliament or state, but by an antiquated order, designed to suppress "Fifth Monarchy killing spirits," and presenting the folly of such persecution, to one, who, he says, was "not long since a good solicitor for the liberty I now crave." This letter procured his immediate discharge.

Another bond of union was thus formed between him and the new sect, and he soon identified himself with the Quakers, with the exception of his dress. His father received tidings of his son's course, in a letter from a nobleman, and at once ordered him to return home. He complied; and, as his dress did not betray him, his father did not at once discover his frame of mind. But this was soon revealed in his language and deportment; and when his neglect of common courtesies, especially that of the hat, and his exclusive intimacies with Quakers, made his father aware of the full truth, he at once sought an explanation from William.

The interview must have been distressing to both father and son, who showed an equal degree of resolution and pertinacity in their respective positions. The father, with a parent's love, with worldly hopes, and an utter scorn of all sanctimoniousness, implored his son to regard his wishes and his own interest. The son, moved, as he believed, by a divine impulse, and knowing no motive higher than that of conscience, gently resisted alike the commands and entreaties of his parent. Anger on the one part, and fixed determination on the other, brought the

interview to a close. The father offered to give his son no further trouble if he would consent only to remove his hat in his presence, and in presence of the King and the Duke of York. William desired time to consider the matter. The Admiral charged him with intending to refer the subject to some of the Quakers; but his son denied that such was his purpose, and, retiring to his own chamber, he meditated and prayed alone. Sincerity against flattery was the question for his conscience to argue. Casuistry was then a science, truth was weighed out in syllogisms, and expediency was, with the multitude, the rule of right. Penn had another principle; he applied it faithfully, and he returned to say, with the greatest filial tenderness, to a respected father, that he could not remove his hat by way of compliment to any one. His father, on learning his decision, immediately turned him out of doors.*

There was a text of Scripture to support the young Quaker, thus thrown upon the world without a fortune or the means of obtaining a subsistence. He grieved more at the pain he had given to his father than at his own houseless condition. His mother, and some constant friends, supplied his wants, though she was compelled to aid him, and to

* Pepys, under date of December 29th, 1667, writes, "At night comes Mrs. Turner to see us; and there, among other talk, she tells me that Mr. William Penn, who is lately come over from Ireland, is a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing; that he cares for no company, nor comes into any; which is a pleasant thing, after his being abroad so long, and his father such a hypocritical rogue, and at this time an atheist." Vol. III. p. 443. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the calumnious conclusion of this sentence merely vents the spleen and animosity of Pepys against the Admiral.

communicate with him, without the knowledge of his father. But every such experience, which William Penn encountered, taught and confirmed to him the faith of his subsequent life.

Being now identified not only in belief, but in suffering, with the Quakers, he soon became a prominent and leading instrument in converting others. In 1668, at the age of twenty-four, he spoke at their meetings—a liberty which was open to all, males and females, though we may well believe that few could improve it, as he did, for real edification. His resolute adherence to the principles which he had espoused somewhat mollified his father, who allowed him to return to the house, and, though refusing to approve, and indeed publicly discountenancing, his son, yet used his interest to relieve him from some of the inflictions which his attendance at meetings brought upon him. In the same year, William Penn began to imitate the almost universal practice of his fellow-believers, in writing letters of exhortation.* The Quakers were as voluminous and painstaking in this mode of influence, as they were earnest and incessant in their public ministry. Epistles of love and warning went forth from them to

* I have before me "A Collection of the Works of William Penn, in two volumes. To which is prefixed a Journal of his Life, with many original Letters and Papers not before published." London, 1726, folio. This, the only complete edition of the voluminous writings of Penn, was made, and the Life composed, by Joseph Besse.

I have also "The Select Works of William Penn, in Five Volumes, 3d Edition, London, 1782, 8vo." This selection contains those works of the author, which, as having less bearing on local and temporary controversies, are regarded as possessing a permanent value.

all sorts of persons, monarchs and servants, friends and foes. Penn's first letter of this sort, addressed to a fashionable young man of his acquaintance, is dated "Navy Office, 10th of the fifth month, 1668."

This year also witnessed his first appearance as an author. The title of his first tract, copied in full, is: "Truth exalted; in a short but sure Testimony against all those religious Faiths and Worships, that have been formed and followed in the Darkness of Apostasy; and for that glorious Light, which is now risen, and shines forth in the Life and Doctrine of the despised Quakers, as the alone good old Way of Life and Salvation. Presented to Princes, Priests, and People, that they may repent, believe, and obey. By William Penn, whom divine Love constrains, in an holy Contempt, to trample on Egypt's Glory, not fearing the King's Wrath, having beheld the Majesty of Him who is invisible."

The limits of these pages will permit only the slightest notice of the several tracts and volumes issued by this zealous advocate of a living and antagonistic faith. This, the first, was likewise the most ambitious and severe of all his writings; and it is not wholly free from what an unprejudiced reader might pronounce to be spiritual pride and arrogance. The warning which it contains to "dark and idolatrous Papists, to superstitious and loose Protestants, to zealous and carnal professors," and the declaration of his own freedom, enlightenment, and security, could scarcely be set in the bold contrast in which he places them, by one so ardent and assured, without putting meekness and humility at a

risk. But we must bear in mind that much of the peculiarity which marks the views of the Quakers to us arises from the manner in which they are expressed; for all their standard works were written at a time when great quaintness of style and speech and the harshest severity of epithet prevailed.

Penn's second book, called "The Guide Mistaken, and Temporizing Rebuked," was published in the same year. This is wholly controversial, and by no means of the gentlest character, being designed in answer to a book by Thomas Clapham, entitled "A Guide to the True Religion." Penn calls the author "a Cantabrigian Sizer," and treats him with great contempt, as "a guide who had not gone a page before he lost his way." The reviewer, however, had an excuse for his searching criticism of a man who had frequently changed his religion, inasmuch as his book was an attack upon the Quakers and misrepresented them.

Availing himself of the privilege, Penn had the satisfaction of being enabled to visit the dying bed of Thomas Loe, to whose appeals and lessons he ascribed the strength of the convictions which had settled upon him with such power in Oxford. A dying testimony was regarded as of great importance, and of the highest value among the early Friends, and the interview between these two sufferers in a common cause ended in a cheering exhortation to the survivor.

The two most remarkable of the religious works of William Penn were produced under circumstances of an interesting and exciting character, which first

brought him under the inflictions of the law in England. Two members of a congregation in London, of which Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian minister, was the pastor, went, from curiosity, to attend a Quaker meeting, near to their own place of worship, and were there converted. Their pastor, being highly offended, not only remonstrated with them, but violently attacked the Quakers and their principles from his pulpit. His charges, being more publicly reported, were boldly taken up by Penn, and George Whitehead, a distinguished and voluminous writer and preacher in the Society, who went to Vincent, and demanded an opportunity to reply before the same audience. A promise to this effect having been reluctantly granted, and the time appointed for a conference in Vincent's meeting-house, it would seem by the Quakers' accounts, (and they are generally the most fair and candid of all writers,) that the Presbyterian minister did not conduct with propriety or justice. His own friends so crowded the edifice that but few of the Quakers could obtain entrance. The latter were assailed by opprobrious epithets, Penn, especially, being stigmatized as a Jesuit. Vincent abruptly closed the conference, when it was very stormy, by "falling to prayer" for the Quakers, as blasphemers. He then rushed out, followed by most of his congregation, it being nearly midnight. The Quakers, being thus cheated of their expected opportunity, continued their defence in the dark to the few who remained. Vincent came back with a candle, and ordered them to disperse, which they did on being promised another

meeting at the same place. The Quakers having in vain waited long enough, as they thought, for this promise to be redeemed, Penn and Whitehead felt "necessitated to visit the meeting-house." This they did on a lecture day, and attempted to speak after the services; but Vincent retired, and none of the congregation would enter into a discussion with them.

The previous controversy had turned upon the common explanation or definition of the doctrine of the Trinity, in which the Quakers were heretical. Penn was thus induced to write and publish, in 1668, his famous tract, called "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," which is a bold attack upon "those so generally believed and applauded doctrines of one God subsisting in three distinct and separate persons; of the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction; and of the justification of impure persons by an imputative Righteousness." The publication of this very powerful tract caused a great excitement, which extended beyond the limits to which the agitation caused by the Quakers had already reached.* Church dignitaries and dissenters were alike scandalized at it. Penn was apprehended and committed to the Tower. In reply to his servant, who

* Pepys, under date 1668-9, February 12th, says, "went home; and there Pelling hath got W. Penn's book against the Trinity. I got my wife to read it to me; and I find it so well writ as, I think, it is too good for him ever to have writ it; and it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for everybody to read." The index to Pepys, strangely enough, ascribes this book to the Admiral.

informed him that the Bishop of London had declared that he should either publicly recant or die a prisoner, he sent word to his father, "that his prison should be his grave before he would budge a jot."

While thus restrained of his liberty for nearly nine months, William Penn wrote the treatise on which his fame as a Christian scholar may safely rest. It is entitled "No Cross, No Crown;| A Discourse showing the Nature and Discipline of the Holy Cross of Christ." It is a thorough treatise on the practice of self-denial, and the faithful performance of duty, without asceticism or exaggeration, written with power, and in some passages with real eloquence, and expresses sentiments from which no Christian mind can dissent. Its most remarkable feature, however, as giving proof of the large reading of the author, is its wide collections of testimonies from persons of all ages and places, who were eminent, in any way, in support of the views which he presents.

Willing to do all that an honest and conscientious man might do to procure his release, Penn wrote a letter, dated July 5th, 1669, to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, who had committed him, in which he denies the malicious charges of enemies, offers a plea for religious liberty, and demands release as innocent, or the proof of his guilt, requesting also an audience of the King. In this letter he says, "It is not the property of religion to persecute religion; that scorns to employ those weapons to her defence that others have used to her depression. It is her privilege alone to conquer naked of force or

artifice. And that person, who hath not the election of his religion, hath none."

Penn also wrote in the Tower a small tract, entitled "Innocency with her Open Face, presented by Way of Apology for the Book entitled 'The Sandy Foundation Shaken.'" In this tract he asserts his belief in the eternity and Deity of Jesus Christ; but we cannot enter into the conditions by which he would harmonize his seemingly conflicting views.* Some persons were satisfied with what they called his recantation, but others ridiculed his alleged inconsistency. His own explanation was, that he had objected only to terms of human invention.

By the interference of the Duke of York either with or without the solicitation of the Admiral, William Penn was released from the Tower by a direct discharge from the King.

On his release, Penn was permitted to return to

* Penn's own words, found in a fragment of an "Apology for Himself," are of concise, but pregnant, meaning. "That which engaged the Bishop of London to be warm in my persecution, was the credit some Presbyterian ministers had with him, and the *mistake* they improved against me, *of my denying the Divinity of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity.*"

"As I saw very few, so I saw them but seldom, except my own father and Dr. Stillingfleet, the present Bishop of Worcester. The one came as my relation, the other at the King's command, to endeavor to secure my change of judgment. But as I told him, and he told the King, that the Tower was the worst argument in the world to convince me; for, whoever was in the wrong, those who used force for religion could never be in the right; so neither the doctor's arguments, nor his moving and interesting motives of the King's favor and preferment, at all prevailed; and I am glad I have the opportunity to own so publicly the great pains he took, and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning, and kindness I will ever hold myself obliged." In "Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. III. Part II. p. 239.

his father's house, and to reside there, though he was not admitted to his father's presence. We learn from Pepys, that the Admiral was a great sufferer from the gout, and was frequently confined at home. He lived but about a year after his son's release from the Tower. Perhaps his own irritability of constitution, as well as his disapprobation of his son's course, led to his refusal to see him, and made it probably more than desirable that they should not then meet. It is pleasant, however, to know, that he had full confidence in his son's integrity and sincerity; for he gave William, through his mother, a commission to go again for him to Ireland on business. For this purpose, the son left London on the 15th of September, 1669, and, pursuing his own chosen work on the way, reached Cork on the 26th of October. Here, on the following day, he had a meeting, and, on the 5th of November, the national meeting of Friends was held at his lodgings in Dublin. At this meeting a letter was drawn up in behalf of the Quakers then confined in prison and under penalty, to whom Penn devoted himself; and he presented the appeal to the Lord-Lieutenant, accompanied by such interest, as served to procure their release in the following year.

Penn was by far the most important man for social standing and influence whom the Friends ever numbered in their society. His influence, which much increased after this, was continually enlisted in behalf of individuals and the whole body; and seldom did it fail wholly of success, though never used to the sacrifice of principle. Besides visiting

prisons and attending meetings, he wrote several letters in Ireland, in behalf of his views, especially "A Letter of Love to the Young Convinced," designed to encourage the new converts.

In thus devoting himself to labors which lay nearest to his heart, William Penn did not slight, in any way, the commission which he had received from his father. He attended to this faithfully; and when it was executed, he returned home, where, much to his satisfaction, he was reconciled to his father, and permitted to reside in the house as an esteemed son.

CHAPTER V

Conventicle Act.—Penn arrested while preaching in the Street in London.—His Trial, Commitment, and Discharge.—Death of his Father.—William settles the Estate.—His Labors.—Is again arrested and imprisoned.—Writings in Prison.—Travels in Holland and Germany.—His first Marriage.—His Ministry in England.—More controversial Writings and Disputation.—Penn first interested in America.—Persecution revived.—Correspondence and Discussion with Richard Baxter.

WILLIAM PENN had not long enjoyed the pleasures of liberty and reconciliation at home before he was called to give new proofs of his zeal. The famous Conventicle Act, which was passed in 1670, rendered penal all meetings of dissenters for worship, and their religious gatherings thus became, in the eye of the law, riotous and tumultuous assemblies. This Act operated with the greatest severity against the Quakers, who never took the shelter of concealment, of which all other dissenters, Protestant and Roman Catholic, availed themselves. The principles of the Friends would not allow of any subterfuge. They must not only meet for worship, but must meet manfully in open places; and, more than all, their consciences compelled them to refuse to pay the fines, which were the penalty prior to imprisonment under the Conventicle Act.

The Quakers were thus excluded from their first public meeting-house in Grace Church Street, Lon-

don. Some of them going there for public worship, August 15, 1670, found the doors guarded by soldiers; and, as they remained near by and were joined by others, there was soon a gathering in the street. William Penn and William Mead addressed the meeting, and were forthwith arrested by a warrant from the Lord Mayor, by which they were committed to Newgate, to await their trial at the next Old Bailey sessions. This trial, which Penn afterwards, at his own expense, printed at large, with all the documents bearing upon it, was one of the most remarkable processes in English jurisdiction, inasmuch as the jury, in spite of much browbeating, overbearance, and severity from the court, agreed to clear the prisoners. The technicalities, exaggerations, and contrivances of the law were matters of especial abhorrence to the Quakers, who often "bore testimony" against them.

On this occasion, the accused immediately objected to the terms of the indictment, in which simple and peaceable people were charged with "tumultuously assembling, with force and arms, in contempt of the King," "to the great disturbance of his peace, and to the great terror of many of his people and subjects." With more than the acumen of lawyers, and with at least as much of sincerity, did William Penn and Mead plead their cause. The evidence failed to convict them, because, though evidence was adduced that they had spoken, no one could testify as to what they had said, and they therefore could not be proved to have preached. The jury were insulted and inhumanly treated, and kept

in duress without refreshment for two days and two nights, because they would not bring in a verdict under dictation of the court; and after their final rendering of "Not guilty" was repeated by them, over their own signatures, they were each fined for contempt. The same fine was put upon Penn and Mead for contempt in wearing their hats; and, as they refused to pay, they were committed to a dirty hole in the bail-dock, and thence sent with the jury to Newgate. Penn's father remitted the amount to liberate him and his companions; otherwise, it would have gone unpaid.

Penn was released from Newgate only in season to attend upon the last days of his father. Perhaps the Quaker historians have exaggerated the account of the temporary alienation of the Admiral from his elder son.* The father had tried the means, which naturally suggested themselves, to oppose what he regarded as the infatuated course of William, and his devotion to a purpose which brought with it ridicule and loss, rather than worldly profit. It is certain that the resolution and integrity of the son completely subdued the parent. The Admiral in his will intrusted his estate to William, with expressions of his confidence and love. Before his death, foreseeing that the principles of his son would bring upon him renewed legal penalties and social inflic-

* Granville Penn, in his "Memoirs of the Admiral," complains of this exaggeration of the Quaker historians. But William Penn, afterwards, while in Holland, gave an account of his early religious trials at a meeting, in which he speaks of his father's "whipping, beating, and turning [him] out of doors," in 1662.

tions, he sent an express request from his chamber to the Duke of York, to ask from him and his royal brother their especial friendship and interference. A promise to that effect was returned, and William reaped a measure of advantage from it. The son has preserved among the dying testimonies in the second edition of his "No Cross, No Crown," the last counsels of his father, including a Christian retrospect of his own life, a lamentation over the impiety of the age, and some excellent rules of conduct for his heir. "Son William," said he, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world." He died at Wanstead, September 16th, 1670, leaving his son an estate worth fifteen hundred pounds a year, with large claims against the government.

William Penn faithfully discharged the trust confided to him on behalf of the family; and henceforward, through his life, the cares of complicated business, and the work of his lay ministry, seem to have equally divided his time. The latter object was pursued more successfully, and with more satisfaction to himself, than the former. Soon after his father's death, hearing that the Quakers, and himself in particular, had been severely attacked by a Baptist preacher named Ives, of High Wycomb, Buckinghamshire, he insisted pertinaciously upon having an opportunity to reply in an open discussion. A brother of the preacher, excelling him in power, undertook the dispute in public with Penn; but, attempting to deal unfairly, the Quakers gained a

triumph over him. The dispute was upon "the inward light." The famous Thomas Ellwood, a pupil of Milton, was present.

On a visit to Oxford, in November of this year, he learned that the Quakers there, and in the neighborhood, had suffered at the hands of the students, and having reason to believe that the Vice-Chancellor had instigated or allowed these persecutions, he addressed to him a letter of a sort which that dignitary had not been wont to receive. In this epistle, he describes himself as "one who is above the fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils," and addressed the Vice-Chancellor as a "poor mushroom."

During his sojourn at the family seat in Buckinghamshire this winter, he wrote a tract called "A seasonable Caveat against Popery," controverting a pamphlet in explanation of the Roman Catholic belief. This tract, which contains objections to matters of ritual, discipline, and faith in the Roman church, carefully draws the line between argument and persecution; and the thoroughness of its Protestantism might, it would seem, have shielded the author from the charge of being a Jesuit, under which he henceforward suffered much.

On the 5th of March, 1671, William Penn was again apprehended by legal warrant. Being on a visit to London, he was speaking in a meeting-house of the Quakers in Wheeler Street, when he was forcibly drawn out into the street by a military guard and conveyed to the Tower. He was soon arraigned before some of the same magistrates who

had conducted his former trial. The attempt to convict him by the Conventicle Act, and by the Oxford Act, respectively, failed by technical inefficacy of the testimony, much to the chagrin of the court. In this emergency, recourse was had to the oath of allegiance, the proffer of which, as a last resource, always secured the conviction of the Quakers, as their principles led them alike to be faithful to its requisitions, and to resist its imposition, because it embraced "a profane use" of the name of God. Penn, of course, refused to take the oath. The following is a portion of the conversation which ensued.

SIR JOHN ROBINSON, (Lieutenant of the Tower.)
"I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you; you are an ingenious gentleman; all the world must allow you, and do allow you, that; and you have a plentiful estate. Why should you render yourself unhappy, by associating with such a simple people?"

PENN. "I confess, I have made it my choice to relinquish the company of those that are ingeniously wicked, to converse with those that are more honestly simple."

ROBINSON. "I wish you wiser."

PENN. "And I wish thee better."

ROBINSON. "You have been as bad as other folk."

PENN. "When, and where? I charge thee to tell the company to my face."

ROBINSON. "Abroad, and at home, too."

SIR JOHN SHELDEN, (as is supposed.) "No, no, Sir John, that's too much."

PENN. "I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, justly to accuse me with ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, much less that I ever made it my practice. I speak this to God's glory, that has ever preserved me from the power of those pollutions, and that from a child begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, than, when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, that they were once as they are, and as if there were no collateral or oblique line of the compass or globe, men may be said to come from to the arctic pole, but directly and immediately from the antarctic. Thy words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet."

Penn nobly, and with great beauty as well as force of argument, urged his conscience, his loyalty, and his resolution. He was, however, sentenced to Newgate for six months, saying, as he left the court, "Thy religion persecutes, and mine forgives." He employed the time of his confinement, as before, in labors of the pen, in defence and illustration of his principles. The chief of these was, "The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience." This is an admirable plea from reason, Scripture, and history, in behalf of toleration, meeting objections and enforcing arguments with much learning and skill. Besides the highest authorities quoted in prose, he adduces old Chaucer. He likewise wrote, in Newgate, "Truth rescued from Imposture," being a reply to a

review of the account which he had published of his first trial; also, "A Serious Apology for the Principles and Practices of the People called Quakers," which was particularly directed against a book of Thomas Fenner's, aspersing and ridiculing the Friends. A second edition of "Truth exalted" being called for, Penn, while in Newgate, added to it a "Cautionary Postscript." He united with other Quakers, then in prison, in addressing an appeal to Parliament, which was at the time devising measures to enforce the Conventicle Act more stringently, and likewise in addressing the Sheriffs of London, to expose the ill-treatment which he and others received from the jailers. The Friends, when in prison, had no idea of being treated as felons, and resolved to resist all measures which confounded them with criminals. Penn, having received in Newgate a letter from a Roman Catholic, complaining of what he had written against the doctrines of that church, sent him a very racy reply, beginning thus: "My ingenious friend, I am persuaded I was cooler when I read thy letter than thou wast when thou writst it. If I may have so much credit with thee, and you Catholics are famous for believing, (though it be you know not what,) I do declare my end of animadverting upon that palliated confession was no other, than of presenting to the world the Catholic true creed; and I shall avouch the authorities."

After his liberty was again restored to him, Penn travelled for a short time in Holland and Germany. We have no account of this his first tour, except

some occasional references to it in the narrative of his travels six years afterwards.

The declaration of indulgence published by the King, March 15th, 1672, relieved the Non-conformists of all kinds from many civil penalties, and nearly five hundred imprisoned Quakers gained their liberty, while the whole body of them were for a time freed from legal persecution.

On his return from Holland, in the beginning of the year 1672, Penn, being then in his twenty-eighth year, married Gulielma Maria Springett. Her father, Sir William Springett, having been killed in the civil wars, at the siege of Bamber, while in the service of Parliament, her widowed mother had married Isaac Pennington, a famous preacher and sufferer among the Quakers. In his religious family the wife of Penn had received her education. After his marriage, Penn took a residence at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire.*

Far from yielding himself to repose and the enjoyment of his property, Penn employed all his energies in a work, which constituted his life. The Quakers, relieved from legal penalties, were still in the heat of controversy, suffering indignities from the populace, and from the ministers whose hearers, from time to time, went over by multitudes to the

* Thomas Elwood, who was for many years an inmate and tutor in the family of Isaac Pennington, relates many interesting particulars concerning it, and especially concerning Gulielma. He describes her attractions of body and of mind, and refers to her many suitors. Indeed, it requires all our confidence in his own simple truthfulness, to admit his disavowal of having been greatly interested in her on his own part.

Friends. Their meetings were very frequent. In a tour, which Penn made in September, 1672, through Kent, Sussex and Surrey, he preached twenty-one times in as many days, and his labors were always eminently successful. In November he wrote a letter of caution and exhortation against falling away, to Dr. Hasbert, a physician of Embden, in Germany, whom he had interested in his recent visit. He engaged with dissenters of all sorts, who grudged to the Quakers the protection of that mantle of toleration which sheltered themselves. In answer to an anonymous pamphlet, called "The Spirit of the Quakers tried," he published "The Spirit of Truth vindicated against that of Error and Envy," containing, among other proofs of learning and power, a comparison of all the versions of the Scripture, in all languages, as to their rendering of his favorite passage of "the inward light which lighteth every man."

In reply to the two wild fanatics, Reeves and Muggleton, he wrote "The New Witnesses proved Old Heretics." In the account given of interviews between Penn and Muggleton, Greek seems to have met Greek, and Penn concludes that "the devil befooled himself," in choosing Reeves and Muggleton for his oracles. Under the title of "Plain Dealing with a traducing Anabaptist," Penn published, in January, 1673, his correspondence with John Morse, of Watford, who had attacked him. To another preacher, who had written, against the Quakers, "Controversy ended," Penn replied in "A Winding Sheet for Controversy ended." John Faldo, an In-

dependent preacher, "being sensible that every sheep he lost carried away wool on his back," had attacked the Quakers in a book called "Quakerism no Christianity." Penn replied at length in his "Quakerism a New Nickname for old Christianity." Faldo wrote a rejoinder, to which Penn next year responded in a bulky volume, "The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication." In looking over these spicy tractates, which have kept their odor more tenaciously than the old mummies in the catacombs, we receive most lively impressions of the guerilla warfare of sects which succeeded in England to the stake and the fetter.

In 1673, Penn, accompanied by his wife, journeyed over the western part of England, and, meeting George Fox, who had lately returned from Maryland, they had a series of meetings during a great fair at Bristol and made many converts.

Thomas Hicks, a Baptist preacher, had written "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker," and as he composed both parts of the controversy, he gained an easy victory, though the weak arguing of the Quaker assumed to be a fair exhibition of that side. To this Penn replied in one of his most dignified and thorough compositions, called "The Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimony stated and vindicated from Scripture, Reason, and Authority." Hicks wrote an addition to his Dialogue, taking no notice of Penn's answer, which contempt led the latter to write his "Reason against Railing, and Truth against Fiction." Hicks added still a third part to his Dialogue, and again Penn replied in

"The Counterfeit Christian detected, and the Real Quaker justified." Hicks was silenced, but the Quakers, appealing to the Baptists generally, demanded a conference. This was granted; but, as advantage was taken of the absence of Penn and Whitehead, the former demanded a hearing for himself, in a paper entitled "William Penn's just Complaint against and solemn Offer of a public Meeting to the leading Baptists." Penn won his opportunity, and powerfully advocated the doctrine that Christ was "the Inward Light," as we learn from an account of the discussion which he sent to George Fox.

While this matter was in hand, Faldo sent Penn a challenge to a public discussion, which was declined. Faldo then published "A Curb to William Penn's Confidence." Penn rejoined in "A Return to John Faldo's Reply." Faldo then enlisted twenty-one ministers to write a preface to a second edition of his "Quakerism no Christianity," and Penn finally brought the controversy to a close in this quarter, by "A Just Rebuke to One and Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines," for which he received high commendation from the famous Dr. Henry More. In answer to Henry Halliwell, who wrote "Familism, as it is revived and propagated by the Quakers," Penn published his "Wisdom justified of her Children." And in reply to the Reverend Samuel Grevil, of the Established Church, who wrote "A Discourse against the Testimony of the Light within," Penn returned his "Urim and Thummim, or the Apostolical Doctrines of Light and Perfection maintained."

Dissension had already begun its work among the Friends. The doctrine of immediate revelations or inspiration proved to be dangerous and delusive to some minds. Under its impulse, some Quakers had travelled on distant missions to the Pope and the Turks, and others had been guilty of great extravagances at home. John Perrot and John Luff had gone to Rome. The latter died in the Inquisition; the former, having been consigned to a madhouse, was restored to his friends in England through much interest made in his behalf. He "had a revelation" that he must keep on his hat in prayer, unless on occasions when he had a revelation to take it off. Acting in different places on this principle, he was, after a remonstrance, disowned by the Friends, and he gave forth his complaint in an anonymous pamphlet, called "The Spirit of the Hat." To this Penn replied in "The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith lately revived, and now justly rebuked." Perrot then attacked the principles of the Quakers, and Penn followed him up with a tract called "Judas and the Jews combined against Christ and his Followers."

In the same year, Penn wrote "A Discourse of the General Rule of Faith and Practice, and Judge of Controversy." Nor did his pen rest here; for, besides a paper entitled "The Proposed Comprehension (Toleration) soberly and not unseasonably considered," he published six letters, three of them being in remonstrance or warning to individuals, and the others letters of encouragement to Quakers in Holland and Germany, in the United Netherlands,

and in Maryland. The last is the first indication of his interest in the New World. George Fox had engaged him to intercede in behalf of the Quakers in Lord Baltimore's colony, and by application to the Attorney-General to relieve them from oaths and a military tax. Penn gave them his aid and advice. These numerous writings engaged the zeal as well as the time of the author. As to their spirit, it may truly be said that it is not so severe as that of the books which he controverted. Of course the fact, that, in each and all of them, he goes over much the same ground of subject and argument, lessens our wonder at their number. His letter to Mary Pennyman, an apostate, is a remarkable specimen of plain language and spiritual rebuke.

In the year 1674, Parliament having pronounced the King's declaration of indulgence illegal, the Quakers again came under severe persecution. They were fined, imprisoned, robbed, and inhumanly treated, under the Conventicle Act and the Oath of Allegiance. Their refusal to swear and to pay any fines increased their sufferings. Penn wrote, in their behalf, letters of remonstrance to justices of the peace, and to the King, naming some persecutors. Finding these of no avail, he published, successively, "A Treatise of Oaths;" "England's present Interest considered with Honor to the Prince and Safety to the People;" and "The Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice," all of them works of much solidity, skill, and wisdom. Besides these, he wrote a long Latin letter to the senate at Embden, against the persecution of the Quakers there, and

three controversial works, as follows: "Naked Truth needs no Shift," in answer to "The Quaker's Last Shift found out;" "Jeremy Ives's Sober Request proved in the Matter of it to be false, and impertinent, and impudent;" and "Libels no Proofs." Through his incessant interest, George Fox, then in prison, was liberated.

In the year 1675, while residing at Rickmansworth, and preaching in the neighborhood, which abounded with Quakers, he had a correspondence, of which five pungent letters of his own are preserved, with the famous Richard Baxter. This led to an open discussion between them before a large audience, and both parties claimed the victory. Penn also published a small tract, called "Saul smitten to the ground," being an account of the dying, suffering, and remorse of Matthew Hide, an enemy and troubler of the Quakers. Another letter, to a Roman Catholic, is dated October 9th of this year. These abundant labors vindicate the claims of Penn to an honorable fame in England, independently of his influence engaged on this side of the water, where his interest was now turned.

CHAPTER VI

Penn first concerned in American Colonization.—A Trustee of West New Jersey.—His Arrangements for its Settlement by Quakers.—His zealous Efforts are successful.—His second Tour in Holland and Germany.—Returns to England, and labors.—Persecution revived.—Penn petitions Parliament for the Quakers.—His political Influence.—Intercedes in Behalf of West New Jersey.

WHATEVER weight may be attached to the miraculous “opening as to these parts,” which William Penn said he had in his youth, it would seem as if a mere accident first interested him in American colonization. Flattering reports having circulated in England of the prosperity of the numerous Quakers, who had settled in the central plantations of the New World, led others of the Society to turn their attention thither, as to a place of refuge and peace. Lord Berkeley and Sir John Carteret having become joint patentees from the Duke of York of the province of New Jersey, the former, in 1674, conveyed his portion by deed to John Fenwick, in trust for himself and Edward Byllynge. Both Fenwick and Byllynge were Quakers. The former seems to have been dishonest or unfair, and a dispute arose between him and his partner. Instead of having recourse to law, by a better custom of their own, the Quakers called in the arbitration of William Penn, and his decision was in favor of Byllynge. Fenwick, though mani-

festly in the wrong, still refused to yield; but the influence and expostulatory letters of Penn at last so far prevailed that he acceded to the settlement, and, in 1675, embarked, with his family and other Quakers, for West Jersey.

The attention of Penn was, for a season, called from his new employment to his more familiar work of controversy; and in answer to John Cheney's "Skirmish upon Quakerism," he published "The Skirmisher defeated, and Truth defended." He also wrote, in 1676, a hortatory letter of ten folio pages, addressed jointly to the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederic of Bohemia, and granddaughter of James the First, and to her friend and companion, the Countess of Hornes. Robert Barclay, then on a tour of preaching on the Continent, had visited these noble ladies, and found them well-disposed to the principles of the Quakers. Penn availed himself of the information to excite and advise them.

After an adjustment had been made between Fenwick and Byllynge, the latter, being too much embarrassed to improve it, made over all his property to Penn, and two of his creditors as trustees. Penn assumed the office with reluctance, but immediately devoted himself to its discharge. The province was divided into East New Jersey, then somewhat thickly settled under Carteret, and West New Jersey; and the latter was apportioned into a hundred *proprietarys*, ten of which were assigned to Fenwick, and ninety were held in trust for Byllynge. These were immediately offered for sale, and emigration to them was invited. Penn had the principal hand in draw-

ing up a frame of government, under the title of *Concessions*, or terms of grant and agreement, to be mutually signed by the assignees and the purchasers. "We put the power in the people," says Penn. Invitations were circulated with this paper to induce Quakers especially to avail themselves of its privileges. Some considerable difference of opinion arose in the Society at large, about what seemed a dereliction of principles, by leaving home and escaping persecution, while others entertained too flattering hopes.

To meet these conflicting views, the assignees addressed an admonitory circular letter to the members of the Society, cautioning the sanguine and encouraging the timid. This letter was accompanied by a "Description of West New Jersey," designed to be fair in its delineations, and not at all Utopian. The form of government was inviting, as it embraced religious freedom, and copied the provision in the enactments of Berkeley and Carteret, that there should be no taxation independent of the allowance of the settlers. Great zeal being now manifested to emigrate, two companies of Quakers, the one from London, the other from Yorkshire, made large purchases of land, and the assignees appointed commissioners from them to treat with the Indians and previous white settlers about their just rights to the territory, to apportion the lots, and to administer the government for a year. These arrangements were completed by Penn and his colleagues in the early part of 1677. He had at that time left his residence at Rickmansworth, and removed to Worminghurst,

in Sussex. The work which he had assumed was congenial to his taste, and was performed under a sense of high responsibility. (His spirit was likewise somewhat calmed in the retirement and study which were necessary in his trust, and the change of occupation from the consuming passions of controversy, to the deliberate business of legislation, doubtless had a good effect on his whole character. His later years certainly exhibit an alteration of temper, and his later writings show more of a spirit of moderation.) The most devoted admirers and eulogists of Penn take upon themselves an unnecessary as well as a doubtful office, when they would vindicate his religious zeal from the charge of partaking largely in the less commendable traits of the early Quakers. It is no reproach to him that age enlarged his wisdom and that reflection increased his charity.

Penn had the satisfaction of bringing his labors for the Quaker colonization of West New Jersey to a propitious result. In 1677, three vessels, two from London and one from Hull, sailed for their new destination, carrying more than four hundred Quakers, who gave to their settlement the name of Burlington, and were rapidly joined by successive reinforcements from their Society. Charles the Second, in his pleasure barge, went alongside the first vessel in the Thames, and gave to the passengers his blessing, such as it was.

After attending the yearly meeting of the Quakers in London, in June, 1677, and interesting himself in behalf of those who were suffering there, Penn visited his mother in Essex, and then, fulfilling a

purpose which he had long cherished, he sailed for Holland in "the service of the gospel." Accompanied by Fox, Barclay, and six other Quakers, with two servants, he embarked at Harwich for Rotterdam, July 26th. As has been already remarked, these journeys into foreign lands, to spread the principles of the Quakers, had engaged many devoted laborers. The names of persons high and low in station, simple and wise in intellect, who were "seeking truth and life," and were favorably disposed toward the new dispensation, were discovered, and the persons were sought out. Information was most methodically communicated at the yearly, monthly, and weekly meetings of the Friends, and thus a chain, as strong and more visible than that of sympathy, was made to unite believers all over Christian Europe. The Princess Elizabeth had answered Penn's letter, and some pardonable gratification at the prospect of so distinguished a convert encouraged him for his second ministerial tour. The master of the vessel which carried him, having sailed with his father, showed him kindness on board.

Penn, separating at times from his companions, and joining others, travelled diligently over Holland and Germany, making the most of every opportunity to disseminate his views. He made use of any mode of conveyance that came to his relief, and, failing of such aid, his feet were sufficient. He held meetings in chambers, rooms, and public places; he rose from his bed, after having retired, to expound his principles to the inquisitive, and endeavored to be present at all the regular assemblies already established on

the Continent by little communities of Friends. He paid particular attention to distinguished converts, and to the disciples who had been gathered by De Labadie, whose views resembled his own. He assisted in drawing up rules of discipline. He wrote many letters to foreigners, and to his own countrymen, one of them being addressed to the King of Poland, remonstrating with him for his persecuting spirit, and another to those of his own Society in England, which, dissatisfied with the attempts recently made to repress extravagances, and to maintain discipline in the body, had caused discord and separation. After a most successful tour, closed, however, by a stormy and dangerous passage, he reached Harwich on his return, October 24th, 1677, and multiplied his letters of counsel in all directions. These travels doubtless suggested to Penn much information, which was subsequently of value to him, and gave him an enlarged acquaintance with human nature. Emigrants from nearly every place which he visited were afterwards found in the Jerseys, or in Pennsylvania.

He returned to his family, and enjoyed a season of repose, which was brief, and not free from interruptions. Business and zeal led him to frequent visits to London. In the same year, he went, with other Quaker leaders, to Bristol, and took part in a famous dispute with William Rogers, the head of the separatists and the antagonist of Barclay.

But his services were now engaged in a new emergency of danger, to ward off from the Quakers more inflictions arising from the troubles of the times.

The discovery of the pretended Popish plot had inflamed the people and their rulers against the Roman Catholics. The cry of the Jesuits was in every ear, and imagination conjured up all horrors as meditated by them, while it discovered beneath all the disguises of sectarianism and fanaticism, only the more sly and dangerous members of that order. The Act under which most stringent penalties were visited on the Papists included all dissenters, but fell most heavily upon the Quakers, who sought no concealment, and who therefore suffered renewed trials and losses. They were, moreover, regarded as disguised Jesuits of the most dangerous sort, by the mass of the people; and this delusion was only conformed to the prevailing idea, that Popery was the *Mystery of Iniquity*. Penn, especially, was publicly accused of being in orders and under pay of the Pope.

Parliament, recognizing the justice of distinguishing between Protestant and Popish dissenters, designed a protecting clause, which would relieve all who would take the oath and subscribe the declaration against Popery. The Quakers could not take the oath, and were thus subjected to the prosecutions of the Exchequer, and to the rage of the populace. Penn, therefore, presented petitions to both Houses, objecting to the form, not to the matter of the protecting clause, and asking that the word of the Quakers might stand for their oaths; a falsehood in them being punished as perjury. He was admitted to a hearing before a Committee of the Commons, March 22d, 1678. Here he positively denied the absurd charge of being a Jesuit; and, while

pleading for his own friends, he magnanimously included the Roman Catholics in his plea. "I would not be mistaken. I am far from thinking it fit that Papists should be whipped for their consciences, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists. No! for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath (I know not by what discretion) lit heavy upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they must come in our room. We must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves."

On a second hearing before the Committee, Penn spoke again in much the same strain. He says, "I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too. I lost nothing by time or study; for years, reading, travel, and observations made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment." He proceeds to vindicate his friends as thorough Protestants, and as supporters of government, being perfectly satisfied with that which was established, and determined, "with Christian humility and patience, to tire out all mistakes about us, and wait their better information, who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us." These appeals of Penn so far availed that a clause for the relief of the Quakers was introduced into the bill before Parliament, and passed the Commons, but had not reached its third reading in the Upper House when Parliament was prorogued. It was by this resolute and unyielding pertinacity, that the Quakers before long secured to themselves free-

dom from oaths and from military service, and liberty to solemnize their own marriages.

Penn published this year "A Brief Answer to a False and Foolish Libel," in reply to an anonymous book, called "The Quakers' Opinions," which undertook to represent the sentiments of the Friends by extracts from some of their writings, with comments. He also wrote "An Epistle to the Children of Light in this Generation," which was designed to calm and strengthen the minds of the Quakers amid the real trials and the panics and anxieties of those times of trouble.

In the following year, 1679, Penn attempted to do for all his Protestant brethren the same kind service, which he had performed for the members of his own Society, namely, to calm and direct their anxious feelings under the panic, which distracted all minds on account of the expected restoration of Popery. In "An Address to Protestants of all Persuasions upon the present Conjunction, more especially to the Magistracy and Clergy, for the Promotion of Virtue and Charity," he advanced truths and counsels equally and permanently valuable in all social emergencies. He exposed the prevailing wickedness in high and low places; he presented in a strong light the utter folly of all human tests and standards in matters of faith, and he traced these sins and errors to their fruitful causes. About the same time, too, William Penn performed a grateful labor of love, in writing a preface to a folio collection of the works of Samuel Fisher, an eminent and honored preacher among the Friends, who died while imprisoned for his faith.

Penn made himself many enemies, at this period of his life, by his close attention to each crisis in the ever-shifting distractions of the time. He filled a prominent place in public affairs, because of his intimacies at court, his acquaintance with party leaders, and his position as the acknowledged head of his religious Society. His enemies could not or would not discriminate between the avowed opposition of the Quakers to all civil enactments about religion, and their supposed obligation to take no part in the great public agitations of the time. Because they resisted all restraints of conscience, and would not fight, nor swear, it was exacted of them that they should be silent spectators of the turmoil and ferment of that troubled period. But they could discriminate more wisely. When writs were issued for a new Parliament, Penn engaged the interest of many freeholders of his Society, and made strenuous exertions, which brought upon himself insult and abuse, in a repeated attempt, unsuccessful in both instances, to secure the election of his friend the famous Algernon Sydney. He also wrote a pamphlet, equally plain in its counsel, to the court and the people, entitled "England's great Interest in the Choice of a new Parliament, dedicated to all her Freeholders and Electors." This was followed by a volume, containing "One Project for the Good of England; that is, our Civil Union is our Civil Safety." In this latter work, he aims to secure protection for Protestant dissenters as citizens, by suggesting some test which will distinguish them from the subjects of the Pope, though he carefully demands freedom from persecution for all.

His pen was exercised, in 1680, in writing Prefaces to three books, put forth by the Quakers in expostulation and complaint of the renewed inflictions visited upon them, and also in a Preface to the works of Isaac Pennington, already mentioned as the step-father of Mrs. Penn.

Meanwhile, as one of the trustees of Byllynge, and as agent for the settlers in West New Jersey, the court influence of Penn was engaged in their behalf this year. That colony was now flourishing in early prosperity, and many of the Quakers, in successive companies, were seeking its laborious retreats. But its prosperity was threatened, and its colonists were oppressed, by the renewal of a tax laid upon it, ten years before, in favor of the Duke of York, its original proprietary. Governor Andros, of the province of New York, revived the demand at this time, and of course the trustees of Byllynge were appealed to, to secure the fulfillment of the contract under which the settlers, succeeding, as they maintained, to the rights of Berkeley and Byllynge, had purchased. At the risk of offending the Duke of York, Penn applied to him for relief. The Duke referred the matter to the council, and, after some time, by the decision of Sir William Jones, the colonists were declared exempt from the burden.

CHAPTER VII

Penn petitions the King for a Grant of Land in America.—Opposition to it.—His Success.—The Charter.—Title of his Province.—Is a Purchaser of East New Jersey.—His Influence in his religious Society.—Preparations for the Settlement of his Province.—First Emigration.—Penn's first Proceedings.—Elected to the Royal Society.—He escapes another Arrest.—Death of his Mother.—His Frame of Government.—Obtains a Release from the Duke of York, and a Deed of the Territories.—Prepares to embark.—His Counsels to his Family.

THE interest of William Penn having been thus engaged for some time in the colonization of an American province, and the idea having become familiar to his mind of establishing there a Christian home as a refuge for Friends, and the scene for a fair trial of their principles, he availed himself of many favorable circumstances to become a proprietary himself. The negotiations in which he had had so conspicuous a share, and the information which his inquiring mind would gather from the adventures in the New World, gave him all the knowledge which was requisite for his further proceedings. Though he had personal enemies in high places, and the project which he designed crossed the interests of the Duke of York and of Lord Baltimore, yet his court influence was extensive, and he knew how to use it. The favor of the monarch, and of his brother the Duke, had, as before stated, been sought by the

dying Admiral for his son, and freely promised. But William Penn had a claim more substantial than a royal promise of those days. The crown was indebted to the estate of the Admiral for services, loans, and interest, to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds. The exchequer, under the convenient management of Shaftesbury, would not meet the claim. Penn, who was engaged in settling the estate of his father, petitioned the King, in June, 1680, for a grant of land in America as a payment for all these debts.*

The request was laid before the Privy Council, and then before the Committee of Trade and Plantations. Penn's success must have been owing to great interest made on his behalf; for both the Duke of York, by his attorney, and Lord Baltimore, opposed him. As proprietors of territory bounding on the tract which he asked for, and as having been already annoyed by the conflict of charters granted in the New World, they were naturally unfairly biassed. The application made to the King succeeded after much debate. The provisions in the charter of Lord Baltimore were adopted by Penn with slight alterations. Sir William Jones objected to one of the provisions, which allowed a freedom from taxation, and the Bishop of London, as the ecclesiastical supervisor of plantations, proposed another provision, to prevent too great liberty in religious matters. Chief-Justice North having reduced the patent to a satisfactory form, to guard the King's prerogative and the

* The Petition is in "Pennsylvania Papers," page 1, and in the "Journal of the Plantation Office," Vol. III. p. 174.

powers of Parliament, it was signed by writ of privy seal at Westminster, March 4th, 1681. It made Penn the owner of about forty thousand square miles of territory.

This charter is given at length by Proud and other writers.* The preamble states, that the design of William Penn was to enlarge the British empire, and to civilize and convert the savages. The first section avers that his petition was granted on account of the good purposes of the son, and the merits and services of the father. The bounds of the territory are thus defined: "All that tract or part of land, in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by Delaware River, from twelve miles distance northwards of New Castle town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the said river doth extend so far northward; but if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then, by the said river, so far as it doth extend; and from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line to be drawn from the head of the said river, unto the said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth

* "History of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 171-187. The long interval, which elapsed between Penn's request for the grant and his reception of the charter, was occupied by discussions in the council, and by correspondence with Sir John Werden, in behalf of the Duke of York and the agents of Lord Baltimore. All the documents may be found in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. pp. 269-271, and 273, 274.

degree of northern latitude, and on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from New Castle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude; and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned."

Though these boundaries appear to be given with definiteness and precision, a controversy, notwithstanding, arose at once between Penn and Lord Baltimore, which outlasted the lives of both of them, and, being continued by their representatives, was not in fact closed until the Revolutionary War.

The charter vested the perpetual proprietaryship of this territory in William Penn and his heirs, on the fealty of the annual payment of two beaver-skins; it authorized him to make and execute laws not repugnant to those of England, to appoint judges, to receive those who wished to transport themselves, *to establish a military force*, to constitute municipalities, and to carry on a free commerce. It required that an agent of the proprietor should reside in or near London, and provided for the rights of the Church of England. The charter also disclaimed all taxation, except through the proprietor, the Governor, the Assembly, or Parliament, and covenanted, that, if any question of terms or conditions should arise, it should be decided in favor of the proprietor. By a declaration to the inhabitants and planters of Pennsylvania, dated April 2d, the King confirmed the charter, to ratify it for all who might intend to emigrate under it, and to require compliance from all whom it concerned.

By a letter from Penn to his friend Robert Turner, written upon the day on which the charter was signed, we learn that the proprietor designed to call his territory *New Wales*; but the under-secretary, a Welshman, opposed it. Penn then suggested *Sylvania*, as applicable to the forest region; but the secretary, acting under instructions, prefixed *Penn* to this title. The modest and humble Quaker offered the official twenty guineas as a bribe to leave off his name. Failing again, he went to the King, and stated his objection; but the King said he would take the naming upon himself, and insisted upon it as doing honor to the old Admiral.*

Having the satisfaction of hearing of the flourishing prospects of West New Jersey, Penn became, with eleven others, a purchaser of East New Jersey, which was sold in February, 1682, according to the will of Sir George Carteret. Twelve more partners, nearly all of whom were Quakers, as were the whole of the first twelve, were admitted to the purchase and management; and this colony, of which Elizabeth Town was the capital, was soon populous and prosperous.

With all the increasing cares which Penn was about to assume, he was not remiss in the discharge of the duty, which seems to have been looked for from him rather than assumed by him, of acting as the guiding mind of his enlarged religious Society. At this time, the line was drawn between the fanatical or enthusiastic party, who laid claim to special

*“Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,” Vol. I. p. 201.

revelations, which they followed to the contempt of discipline, and the moderate party, who were in favor of the judicious methods and restraints, which have since given compactness and dignity to the Society of Friends. Penn showed his judgment, not only by the side which he had espoused from the beginning, but by his mode of expostulating with the unruly and discordant. He published a little tract, entitled "A Brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual, both with Respect to Persons in their private Capacity, and in their Church Society and Communion." He also engaged most zealously for the relief of several members of his Society, who had been fined and imprisoned at Bristol, and wrote "A Letter to the Friends of God in the City of Bristol."

Penn now resigned the charge of West New Jersey, and devoted himself to the preliminary tasks, which should make his province available to himself and others. He sent over, in May, his cousin and secretary, Colonel William Markham, then only twenty-one years old, to make such arrangements for his own coming as might be necessary.* This gentleman, who acted as Penn's deputy, carried over from him a letter, dated London, April 8th, 1681, addressed "For the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania; to be read by my Deputy." This was a courteous announcement of his proprietaryship and intentions to the Dutch, Swedes, and English, who, to the num-

* Anthony Brockholls, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, having received Markham's credentials, issued an Order conformed to them, to all magistrates in Pennsylvania, dated June 21st, 1681. Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 305.

ber, probably, of about three thousand, were then living within his patent.*

Penn's object being to obtain adventurers and settlers at once, he published "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, in America, lately granted, under the Great Seal of England, to William Penn." This was accompanied by a copy of the charter, and a statement of the terms on which the land was to be sold, with judicious advice addressed to those who were disposed to transport themselves, warning them against mere fancy dreams, or the desertion of friends, and encouraging them by all reasonable expectations of success.

The terms of sale were, for a hundred acres of land, forty shillings purchase money, and one shilling as an annual quitrent. This latter stipulation, made in perfect fairness, not unreasonable in itself, and ratified by all who of their own accord acceded to it, was, as we shall see, an immediate cause of disaffection, and has ever since been the basis of a calumny against the honored and most estimable founder of Pennsylvania.

Under date of July 11th, 1681, Penn published "Certain Conditions or Concessions to be agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who may become Adventurers and Purchasers in the same Province." These conditions relate to dividing, planting, and building upon the land, saving mul-

* The original letter has been recovered by the zealous pains of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and appears in their "Memoirs," Vol. III. Part II. p. 205.

berry and oak trees, and dealing with the Indians. These documents were circulated, and imparted sufficient knowledge of the country and its produce, so that purchasers at once appeared, and Penn went to Bristol to organize there a company called "The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania," * who purchased twenty thousand acres of land, and prepared to establish various trades in the province.

Yet further to mature his plans, and to begin with a fair understanding among all who might be concerned in the enterprise, Penn drew up and submitted a sketch of the frame of government, providing for alterations, with a preamble for liberty of conscience. On the basis of contracts and agreements thus made, and mutually ratified, three passenger ships, two from London and one from Bristol, sailed for Pennsylvania in September, 1681. One of them made an expeditious passage; another was frozen up in the Delaware; and the third, driven to the West Indies, was long delayed. They took over some of the ornamental work of a house for the proprietor.

The Governor also sent over three commissioners,

* The constitution of this society, copied from an old contemporaneous pamphlet, is in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 394, 397. It appears in a letter from Penn to Robert Turner, dated August 25th, 1681, that a very tempting offer was made to him to enrich himself by sacrificing one of his most cherished purposes. "I did refuse a great temptation last second day, which was six thousand pounds, and pay the Indians, for six shares, and make the purchasers a company, to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north, between the Susquehanagh and Delaware Rivers, paying me two and a half *per cent.* acknowledgment or rent." "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 205.

whose instructions we learn from the original document addressed to them by Penn, dated September 30th, 1681.* These commissioners were William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen. Their duty was that of "settling the colony." Penn refers them to his cousin Markham, "now on the spot." He instructs them to take good care of the people; to guard them from extortionate prices for commodities from the earlier inhabitants; to select a site by the river, and there to lay out a town; to have his letter to the Indians read to them in their own tongue; to make them presents from him, (adding, "Be grave; they love not to be smiled upon;") and to enter into a league of amity with them. Penn also instructs the commissioners to select a site for his own occupancy, and closes with some good advice in behalf of order and virtue.

These commissioners probably did not sail until the latter part of October, as they took with them the letter to the Indians, to which Penn refers. This letter, bearing date October 18th, 1681, is a beautiful expression of feeling on the part of the proprietor. He does not address the Indians as heathen, but as his brethren, the children of the one Father. He announces to them his accession, as far as a royal title could legitimate it, to a government in their country; he distinguishes between himself and those who had ill-treated the Indians, and pledges his love and service.

* This document likewise has been recovered by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and appears in the "Memoirs," Vol. II. Part I. p. 215-221.

About this time, William Penn was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London, probably by nomination of his friend Dr. John Wallis, one of its founders, and with the hope that his connection with the New World would enable him to advance its objects.

From an incident which now occurred to Penn we gather a very lively image of "the form and pressure" of the age, and of the strange conflicts and measures of a government, which, while it removed all its penalties from wicked actions, laid them heavily upon scrupulous consciences. While immersed in his many cares, and making arrangements to embark for his possessions, this distinguished man, who, by court influence and personal worth, had been invested with the delegated sovereignty of a territory, which might be compared for size with England, very narrowly escaped being apprehended on a visit to a Quaker meeting in London. The force of his own words, when preaching, overawed the constable, who had a warrant to arrest him and commit him to prison.

The death of his mother, at this time, was a severe affliction to Penn. She was worthy of his esteem, and had tenderly confirmed her claims to it by her constant kindness when his father was alienated from him. He felt her loss most deeply; it caused him a temporary illness and confinement.

The constitution of Pennsylvania, or frame of government, the sketch of which he had offered to the Society of Traders, was now published, as amended, consisting of a preface, twenty-four

articles, and forty laws. He introduces it with a very clear and admirable statement of the positive necessity of government, its authority, design, and good ends, with its means; its object being not only to resist evil, but to advance many excellent concerns. As to particular frames and models, he is brief, for he would rather be cautious than inventive. Many tyros were then speculating upon government, and offering Utopian schemes. No frame, he says, can or ought to be unalterable on emergencies; each must be adapted to the peculiarities of place and people; the worst planned, in good hands, may effect good; the best, in ill hands, will do nothing good. "Any government is free to the people under it when the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws." Governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments.

In drawing up his constitution, Penn had the advice of Sir William Jones, and of Colonel Henry Sydney, brother of Algernon Sydney. The government was to be in the hands of the Governor and freemen, constituting a Provincial Council and a General Assembly, to be chosen by the freemen. The Governor, or his deputy, was to be president of the Council, with a treble vote. The Council was to consist of twenty-two members, with a successive renewal of a-third of the number annually. The proposing and execution of the laws rested with the Council. The General Assembly, with no other power than that of approving or rejecting a measure, was to consist, at first, of all the freemen; the next year of two hundred, with a provision for its in-

crease. Elections were to be by ballot. The constitution was not to be altered without consent of the Governor, and six-sevenths of the freemen in both branches. The forty laws were simple in form, comprehensive, wise, and just.

With a caution, which the experience of former purchasers rendered essential, Penn obtained of the Duke of York a release of all his claims within the patent. His Royal Highness executed a quit-claim to William Penn and his heirs, on the 21st of August, 1682. The Duke had executed, in March, a ratification of his two former grants of East Jersey. But a certain fatality seemed to attend upon these transfers of ducal possessions. After various conflicts and controversies long continued, we may add, though by anticipation, that the proprietaryship of both the Jerseys was abandoned, and they were surrendered to the crown under Queen Anne, in April, 1702.

Penn also obtained of the Duke of York another tract of land adjoining his patent. This region, afterwards called the Territories, and the three Lower Counties, now Delaware, had been successively held by the Swedes and Dutch, and by the English at New York. The Duke confirmed it to William Penn, by two deeds, dated August 24th, 1682.

The last care on the mind of William Penn, before his embarkation, was to prepare proper counsel and instructions for his wife and children. This he did in the form of a letter written at Worminghurst, August 4th, 1682. He knew not that he should ever see them again, and his heart poured

forth to them the most touching utterances of affection. But it was not the heart alone which indited the epistle. It expressed the wisest counsels of prudence and discretion. All the important letters written by Penn contain a singular union of spiritual and worldly wisdom. Indeed, he thought these two ingredients to be but one element. He urged economy, filial love, purity, and industry, as well as piety, upon his children. He favored, though he did not insist upon their receiving his religious views. We may express a passing regret, that he who could give such advice to his children should not have had the joy to leave behind him any one who could meet the not inordinate wish of his heart.

In the meanwhile, his deputy, Markham, acting by his instructions, was providing him a new home, by purchasing for him, of the Indians, a piece of land, the deed of which is dated July 15th, and endorsed with a confirmation, August 1st, and by commencing upon it the erection, which was afterwards known as Pennsbury Manor.

CHAPTER VIII

Penn embarks for his Province.—Passage, Arrival, Landing Day, at New Castle.—Visits New York, Long Island, and the Jerseys.—Holds Assembly at Chester.—Legislation.—Unites the Territories.—Conference with Lord Baltimore.—Early Incidents.—Penn's Treaty with the Indians.—The Treaty Tree, Pennsbury.—Philadelphia.—Survey and Division of the Province and Territories.—The Assembly Convened.—New Frame of Government.—Judicial Proceedings.—Witchcraft.—Education.—Interest in the Indians.—Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders.—Difficulties with Lord Baltimore.—Penn resolves to return to England.—Preparations.—Assembly.—Prosperity of the Province.

ALL his arrangements being completed, William Penn, at the age of thirty-eight, well, strong, and hopeful of the best results, embarked for his colony, on board the ship *Welcome*, of three hundred tons, Robert Greenaway master, on the last of August, 1682. While in the Downs, he wrote a Farewell Letter to Friends, the Unfaithful and Inquiring in his native land,* dated August 30th, and probably many private letters. He had about one hundred fellow-passengers, mostly Friends from his own neighborhood in Sussex. The vessel sailed about the 1st of September, and almost immediately the smallpox, that desolating scourge of the passenger

* This is not given in the folio edition of Penn's Works.

ships of those days, appeared among the passengers, and thirty fell victims to it. The trials of that voyage, told to illustrate the Christian spirit which submissively encountered them, were long repeated from father to son, and from mother to daughter.

In about six weeks the ship entered the Delaware River. The old inhabitants along the shores, which had been settled by the whites for about half a century, received Penn with equal respect and joy. He arrived at New Castle, on the 27th of October. The day was not commemorated by annual observances, until the year 1824, when a meeting for that purpose was held at an inn, in Lætitia Court,* where Penn had resided. While the ship and its company went up the river, the proprietor, on the next day, called the inhabitants, who were principally Dutch and Swedes, to the Court-House, where, after addressing them, he assumed and received the formal possession of the country. He renewed the commissions of the old magistrates, who urged him to unite the Territories to his government.

After a visit of ceremony to the authorities at New York and Long Island, with a passing token to his friends in New Jersey, Penn went to Upland to hold the first Assembly, which opened on the 4th of December. Nicholas Moore, an English lawyer, and President of the Free Society of Traders, was made speaker. After three days' peaceful debate, the Assembly ratified, with modifications, the laws made in England, with about a score of new ones, of a local, moral, or religious character, in which not

* Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," Vol. I. p. 15.

only the drinking of healths, but the talking of scandal, was forbidden. By suggestion of his friend and fellow-voyager Pearson, who came from Chester in England, Penn substituted that name for Upland. By an Act of Union, passed on the 7th of December, the three Lower Counties, or the Territories, were joined in the government, and the foreigners were naturalized at their own request.

On his arrival, Penn had sent two messengers to Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to propose a meeting and conference with him about their boundaries. On the 19th of December,* they met at West River with courtesy and kindness; but, after three days, they concluded to wait for the more propitious weather of the coming year. Penn, on his way back, attended a religious meeting at a private house, and afterwards an official meeting at Choptank, on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, and reached Chester again by the 29th of December, where much business engaged him. About twenty-three ships had arrived by the close of the year; none of them met with disaster, and all had fair passages. The newcomers found a comparatively easy sustenance. Provisions were obtained at a cheap rate of the Indians, and of the older settlers. But great hardships were endured by some, and special providences are commemorated. Many found their first shelter in caves scooped out in the steep bank of the river. When these caves were deserted by their first occupants, the poor or the vicious made them a refuge; and one of the earliest signs both of prosperity and

* Penn's Letter to the Lords' Committee of Plantations.

of corruption in the colony is disclosed in the mention that these rude coverts of the first devoted emigrants soon became tippling-houses and nuisances, in the misuse of the depraved.

There has been much discussion, of late years, concerning the far-famed treaty of Penn with the Indians. A circumstance, which has all the interest both of fact and of poetry, was confirmed by such unbroken testimony of tradition that history seemed to have innumerable records of it in the hearts and memories of each generation. But as there appears no document or parchment of such criteria as to satisfy all inquirers, historical scepticism has ventured upon the absurd length of calling in question the fact of the treaty. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with commendable zeal, has bestowed much labor upon the questions connected with the treaty; and the results which have been attained can scarcely fail to satisfy a candid inquirer. All claim to a peculiar distinction for William Penn, on account of the singularity of his just proceedings in this matter, is candidly waived, because the Swedes, the Dutch, and the English, had previously dealt thus justly with the natives. It is in comparison with Pizarro and Cortes, that the colonists of all other nations in America appear to an advantage; but the fame of William Penn stands, and ever will stand, preëminent for unexceptionable justice and peace in his relations with the natives.

Penn had several meetings for conference and treaties with the Indians, besides those which he held for the purchase of lands. But unbroken and rever-

ently cherished tradition, beyond all possibility of contradiction, has designated one Great Treaty, held under a large Elm Tree, at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, a treaty which Voltaire * justly characterizes as "never sworn to, and never broken." In Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders,† dated August 16th, 1683, he refers to his conferences with the Indians. Two deeds, conveying land to him, are on record, both of which bear an earlier date than this letter, namely, June 23d, and July 14th, of the same year.‡ He had designed to make a purchase in May; but having been called off to a conference with Lord Baltimore, he postponed the business till June. The Great Treaty was doubtless unconnected with the purchase of land, and was simply a treaty of amity and friendship, in confirmation of one previously held, by Penn's direction, by Markham, on the same spot; that being a place which the Indians were wont to use for this purpose. It is probable that the treaty was held on the last of November, 1682; that the Delawares, the Mingoës, and other Susquehanna tribes, formed a large assembly on the occasion; that written minutes of the conference were made, and were in possession of Governor Gordon, who states nine conditions as belonging to them in 1728, but are now lost, and that the substance of the treaty is given in Penn's Letter

* Dictionnaire Philosophique, word *Quaker*.

† Proud and Clarkson.

‡ Smith's "Lands," II. p. 110. Penn, in his Letter to the Lords' Committee of Plantations, says that the Bishop of London had counselled him to buy, and not to take away, the natives' land.

to the Free Traders. These results are satisfactory, and are sufficiently corroborated by known facts and documents. The Great Treaty, being distinct from a land purchase, is significantly distinguished in history and tradition.*

The inventions of romance and imagination could scarcely gather around this engaging incident attractions surpassing its own simple and impressive interest. Doubtless Clarkson has given a fair representation of it, if we merely disconnect from his account the statement that the Indians were armed, and all that confounds the treaty of friendship with the purchase of lands. Penn wore a sky blue sash of silk around his waist, as the most simple badge. The pledges there given were to hold their sanctity "while the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure."

Whilst the whites preserved in written records the memory of such covenants, the Indians had their methods for perpetuating in safe channels their own relations. They cherished in grateful regard, they repeated to their children and to the whites, the terms of the Great Treaty. The Delawares called William Penn *Miquon*, in their own language, though they seem to have adopted the name given him by the Iroquois, *Onas*; both which terms signify

* "A Memoir on the History of the celebrated Treaty made by William Penn with the Indians, under the Elm Tree at Shackamaxon, in the Year 1682. By Peter S. Du Ponceau and J. Francis Fisher." "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. III. Pt. II. pp. 141-203. This is a model for all like efforts to clear the perplexities of history and tradition.

a quill, or pen. Benjamin West's picture of the treaty is too imaginative for an historical piece. He makes Penn of a figure and aspect which would become twice the years that had passed over his head. The elm tree was spared in the War of the American Revolution, when there was distress for firewood, the British officer, General Simcoe, having placed a sentinel beneath it for protection. It was prostrated by the wind on the night of Saturday, March 3d, 1810. It was of gigantic size, and the circles around its heart indicated an age of nearly three centuries. A piece of it was sent to the Penn mansion at Stoke Pogis, in England, where it is properly commemorated. A marble monument, with suitable inscriptions, was "placed by the Penn Society, A. D. 1827, to mark the site of the Great Elm Tree." Long may it stand!

Penn then made a visit to his manor of Pennsbury, up the Delaware. Under Markham's care, the grounds had been arranged, and a stately edifice of brick was in process of completion. The place had many natural beauties, and is said to have been arranged and decorated in consistency both with the office and the simple manners of the proprietor. There was a hall of audience for Indian embassies within, and luxurious gardens without. Hospitality had here a wide range, and Penn evidently designed it for a permanent abode.*

With the help of his surveyor, Thomas Holme, he

* The mansion fell into decay at an early period, on account of the leakage of a large reservoir on the roof, designed as a security against fire.

laid out the plan of his now beautiful city, and gave it its name of Christian signification, that brotherly love might pervade its dwellings. He purchased the land where the city stands of the Swedes, who already occupied it, and who had purchased it of the Indians, though it would seem that a subsequent purchase was made of the natives of the same site with adjacent territory some time afterwards, by Thomas Holme, acting as President of the Council, while Penn was in England.* The Schuylkill and the Delaware Rivers gave to the site eminent attractions. The plan was very simple, the streets running east and west being designated by numbers, those running north and south by the names of trees. Provision was made for large squares to be left open, and for common water privileges. The building was commenced at once, and carried on with great zeal.†

The survey was then extended over the country at large. The province and the territories were each divided into three counties, those of the province being named Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester, those of the territories, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex. Divisions of townships and lots were then made; and with that consideration which Penn al-

* See a copy of the deed found at Harrisburg, bearing date July 30th, 1685, in "Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society," Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 132.

† A description of the plan of Penn's new town is found in a place where it would scarcely have been looked for, namely, in Dean Prideaux's "Connection of the Old and New Testament History," Vol. I. p. 234, note. He compares the plan to that of ancient Babylon, though not intending to carry the parallel further.

ways exhibited, he reserved a thousand acres for George Fox and his heirs. From letters written by him about this time, it appears that the Governor was equally happy and busy. He enjoyed fine health, and found a pure delight in the invigorating labors of his hopeful and generous task.

The proper time having arrived, Penn issued his writs for the convening of the Assembly, to be held in the Friends' Meeting-house, in Philadelphia, on the 10th of March, 1683. The people being busy, and no great political anxiety resting upon their minds, the required number of delegates did not appear; only eighteen members for the Council and fifty-four for the Assembly were present.* The Governor was informed of the reasons of this, and also that the number was thought sufficient in authority to answer all ends. But lest the failure to comply with the requisitions of the constitution, or charter, should deprive them of any of their rights, the members requested that it might be amended. By Penn's permission, a committee of each branch was chosen to draw up a new constitution, which was approved, signed, and sealed by him, on the 2d of April, 1683. By the new instrument, it was provided, that three members from each county, eighteen in all, should compose the Council, and that twice that number, though admitting of increase,

* By the suggestion and memorial of the Philosophical and Historical Societies, the State of Pennsylvania published, in two volumes, 8vo. in 1838, the "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government." These volumes contain also the original charter, the conditions or concessions, and the three frames of government.

should form the Assembly. The Council still retained its privilege of proposing and originating bills.* The treble vote allowed to the Governor in the first constitution does not appear in this, though the Minutes read as follows: "Consideration arising whether the Governor's three voices should stand in Provincial Council as by the old charter, the question was put, all ye that are willing that the last proposition should stand so as it is, say, *Yea*. The question being put twice, was carried in the affirmative." † After attending to many matters of interest in the colony, too trivial to bear repetition now, providing a seal for each county, and committing all due power to the Council, the Assembly was adjourned by Penn on the 3d of April.

Judicial proceedings were also instituted in March; a grand and petit jury having been formed. Penn and the Council sat as a court. Charles Pickering and Samuel Buckley, the first offenders, were found guilty of coining and passing base money. On the 26th of October, 1683, the former was sentenced to redeem all such coin as should be called in for a month, and to pay forty pounds towards the erection of a court-house, and the latter to pay ten pounds for the same purpose.‡ At this time, when the witchcraft delusion was universal, we read with interest a case which came before the judicious and benevolent Governor of Pennsylvania. On the 27th of February, 1684, Margaret, the wife of Neels

* "The Frame of the Government," Article 5th.

† "Minutes of the Provincial Council," &c. Vol. I. p. 16.

‡ "Minutes," &c. Vol. I. p. 33.

Matson, was tried on the charges usually adduced against witches of more advanced years. She denied all the evidence alleged. The jury, having been charged by the Governor, "went forth, and, upon their return, brought her in guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and form as she stands indicted."* Recognizances of a hundred pounds were required for her good behavior for six months.

Penn took early care for the interests of education; for we find that, in December, 1683, Enoch Flower, of Philadelphia, who had been twenty years a schoolmaster in England, was employed in the same work at reasonable charges.†

The Governor was occupied at the council board with the affairs of the colony and of individuals; but he improved every interval of adjournment to acquaint himself with public and local interests, especially with the territory and the Indians. He undertook a general tour of exploration to learn the products and capacities of the country, and the habits of the natives, using all lawful endeavors to win their confidence. The results attained by his inquiries are given in the before mentioned letter to the committee of the Free Society of Traders in London, dated in Pennsylvania, August 16th, 1683.‡

* "Minutes," &c. Vol. I. p. 41.

† Ibid. p. 36.

‡ Penn also wrote a letter to the King, dated Philadelphia, August 13th, 1683, and one to the Earl of Sunderland, dated July 28th, 1683; sending with each some presents of the country produce. The latter is filled with interesting particulars. Markham was the bearer. See "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. II. Pt. I. p. 241-247.

Still another letter of his, addressed to the Lord-Keeper

It appears from this letter that he had learned from England reports that he had died, and died a Jesuit too. After denying both these reports, he proceeds to relate his kind reception in his province, and his entire satisfaction with it, to describe its climate, advantages, productions, and progress. His fond interest in the savages, whom he regards as the descendants of the ten tribes, appears in the admiration which he expresses for their language, the pains which he had taken to learn it, and the enthusiasm with which his heart was enlisted in their improvement.

During this his first visit to America, he made leagues with nineteen tribes or settlements of Indians, some of whom were within his domains, some bordering upon them. The frequent references, which Indian chiefs have made, almost down to our own day, to the guileless and benevolent Onas, show how deep within the hearts of his savage contemporaries he impressed the sense of his virtues, and how sacred a tradition they intrusted to their children. We learn enough to satisfy us that the same righteous policy, which he pursued, might have compassed the Continent and all its inhabitants. A law had been passed forbidding the whites in Pennsylvania to sell spirituous liquors to the Indians. The latter wished for liberty to purchase, though they abused, strong waters. They applied to Penn to remove the restriction. The Council having given

North, dated July 24th, and of much the same tenor as that to Sunderland, accompanied by presents, and borne by Markham, is in "Memoirs," &c., Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 411.

him power to act, he called some of the Indians to him, and offered to withdraw the prohibition to sell liquors to them, if they, on their part, would consent to receive the punishments inflicted on the whites for drunkenness. The Indians acceded to the terms.

The difficulty with Lord Baltimore, about the boundary, was a matter of vexation and expense to William Penn. They met in May, 1683, ten miles from New Castle; and, as both claimed the same tract south of the fortieth degree, and grounded the claim upon royal patents, they could not decide their dispute. It was an unsatisfactory meeting, and Penn does not scruple to impugn the fairness of his noble antagonist. Penn wrote to the Lords Commissioners of Plantations to state his case,* on the 14th of August, 1683, Lord Baltimore having previously done the same. The latter sent his agent, Colonel Talbot, with a letter to Penn, which Penn answered; and while he was on a visit to New York, in September, 1683, Lord Baltimore had proposed to make a forcible entrance upon the lower counties. Hearing of this, on his return, Penn protested, by a letter written on the 4th of October, and called his Council together. An agent was then sent to Lord Baltimore, with a copy of Penn's former letter, to be put into his own hands. Colonel Talbot still insisting upon forcing possession, the Pennsylvania

* Proud, Vol. I. p. 267. Penn also wrote, on the 2d of February, 1684, to the Earl of Rochester, and on the 9th of February, 1684, to the Marquis of Halifax, some particulars of his controversy with Lord Baltimore. The letters are in the "Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 414-422.

government issued a declaration of their rights. It was evident that the dispute must be referred directly to the monarch, and settled, if settled at all, by him. Penn therefore resolved to return to England. Another consideration, which moved him to this step, whether of greater or less importance in his own mind, was a feeling of obligation to interpose in behalf of his fellow-Quakers, who were then suffering the heaviest inflictions of persecution in the courts and prisons of England. He knew he could do more for their relief, than any other fellow-subject. He wished also to meet and answer the calumnies of his enemies.

Penn visited New York and New Jersey, and had many preparations to make before he could embark. The General Assembly met at New Castle, on the 10th of May, 1684, and despatched some business. Besides taking his part in this, he preached at various meetings for worship, he settled religious discipline among Friends in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, he formed treaties and increased his acquaintance with the Indians, and quieted many local disputes about lots and river privileges. He made arrangements for the government while he should be absent, intrusting it to the Council, with Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker minister from Wales, as president, and he provided for other matters, civil and judicial. He sat in council at Sussex, on the 14th of August, 1684, and soon after embarked on board the ketch *Endeavor* for England. Before sailing, he wrote a letter of farewell counsels, affectionate and wise, to be read at Friends' meetings, of which we learn, by

a letter of his to the wife of George Fox, that there were, at this time, eighteen in the province.

He had witnessed high prosperity, and the promises of yet greater all around him, beneath the gentle influences of his government. He had, for the most part, industrious, pure, and religious men and women for his helpers. When he returned to England, there were about seven thousand people and three hundred houses on his patent.

CHAPTER IX

Penn arrives in England.—He intercedes for the Quakers.—James the Second.—Penn's Court Influence.—Calumnies against him.—Intercedes for Locke.—Correspondence with Tillotson.—Travels on the Continent.—Interviews with the Prince of Orange.—Burnet.—Penn's Ministry in England.—Oxford.—Writings.—Penn's Vindication.—Letter to Popple.—The Revolution.—Penn's repeated Arrests, Examinations, and Acquittals.—Seeks Retirement.—His Troubles.—Deprived of his Government.

PENN arrived in England on the 6th of October, 1684, finding happiness in the health of his family and the welcome of many friends. He went at once to the King and the Duke, about his own pressing concerns, and to intercede for his suffering fellow-believers. He was successful in bringing his difficulties with Lord Baltimore to a temporary settlement, though, as the event proved, it was only temporary, the decision of a boundary question being then beset with geographical as well as personal obstacles. The Committee of Plantations, after a full hearing of the parties, divided the territory in dispute into two parts, giving to Lord Baltimore the part upon the Chesapeake, and allowing the remainder to relapse to the crown, though intended for Penn.*

* A Memoir of the whole controversy between Penn and Lord Baltimore, and their heirs, is given in "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 159-196, by James Dunlop.

The long period, which now elapsed before the Governor was permitted to visit his colony again, was one of strange public agitation; and Penn's fortunes present a fair representation of the varying states of the kingdom at large. Between the summit of court favor and repeated imprisonments as a suspected traitor, he was led through as remarkable a train of vicissitudes as ever checkered the lot of any public man who escaped a scaffold.

The brief limits of this biography will not allow of much detail, but must embrace here a sketch of Penn's experience in Europe, reserving the affairs of Pennsylvania for subsequent notice.

Penn pleaded successfully with the King in behalf of his persecuted brethren, and he obtained the promise of entire relief for them at an early period. He met the malicious charges of his enemies, and seemed to have the prospect of a felicitous result in his various undertakings. The death of Charles the Second, on the 6th of February, 1685, of which Penn gives some curious particulars, in a letter to Thomas Lloyd,* so far as it affected his interests at all, seemed to advance them. James the Second, who ascended the throne, had been the pupil of his father, and was his own pledged friend. Penn took lodgings at Kensington, to be near the court, where he was constant in his attendance. His influence was such, that, at times, two hundred persons are said to have been in waiting at his gate, to ask his intercession in their behalf.

Until very recently, the admirers and apologists

* In Proud and Clarkson.

of William Penn have felt bound to account for and excuse his intimacy and influence with the Popish James, as if the bare fact, that the liberal Protestant dissenter, the advocate of entire freedom of conscience, should have admittance to the privacy and counsels of a most arbitrary monarch, was enough to throw suspicion upon his integrity. But the full light, which has now been cast upon the tortuous policy and the corrupt designs of that court, has displayed the unstained sincerity and the singleness of heart of William Penn. He knew that the King was a Roman Catholic; but he thought he might be taught liberality, and he used all his influence to plead for the liberty of all. The charge against Penn, spoken in his own ears by friends and foes, and reiterated from the pages of Burnet and others ever since, is, that for the sake of securing indulgence for the Quakers, he approved the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of the monarch in usurping the power of Parliament. That monarch aimed to remove all penalties from the Roman Catholics; he could gain his end only by including them under the general title of dissenters, and then extending over them all the large mantle of a Stuart prerogative. But most of the Protestant dissenters were as much opposed to the relief of the Roman Catholics, as were the members of the Established Church of England.

Hence arose the enmity against Penn, which, when spoken in the form of accusations, condemned him from some lips for treason against the State, and from others for being a Jesuit in disguise, plotting

with the monarch against the Protestant religion. A calmer and wiser judgment has discovered that there was room for an honest man even in those times, and that William Penn occupied it with a calm courage and a good conscience. There were other reasons to explain his private intimacy with the monarch; but his worst enemy could detect no instance in which he used his influence for corrupt, or even for personal, ends. Yet all the influence which he had with James, was, at the time, to his public disrepute. He was suspected by the most honest, and was openly calumniated by the malicious. The master mind of Sir James Mackintosh has unravelled some of the intricacies of that period, has painted the scenes then acted, and has studied the motives and methods of each mover in them. That eminent moralist and statesman has awarded to Penn the most honorable distinctions of purity and magnanimity which his fondest friend could ask.

A paragraph from this writer may be here copied as sufficient to explain Penn's position, while it substantiates his integrity. After having spoken of William Penn as "a man of such virtue as to make his testimony weighty," Sir James Mackintosh says, "The very occupations in which he was engaged brought daily before his mind the general evils of intolerance, and the sufferings of his own unfortunate brethren. Though well stored with useful and ornamental knowledge, he was unpracticed in the wiles of courts; and his education had not trained him to dread the violation of principle, so much as to pity the infliction of suffering. It cannot be

doubted that he believed the King's object to be universal liberty in religion, and nothing further; and as his own sincere piety taught him to consider religious liberty as unspeakably the highest of human privileges, he was too just not to be desirous of bestowing on all other men that which he most earnestly sought for himself. One, who refused to employ force in the most just defence, must have felt a singular abhorrence of its exertion to prevent good men from following the dictates of their conscience. Such seem to have been the motives, which induced this excellent man to lend himself to the measures of the King. Compassion, friendship, liberality, and toleration, led him to support a system, [meaning the encroachments of the royal prerogative,] the success of which would have undone his country; and he afforded a remarkable proof, that in the complicated combinations of political morality, a virtue misplaced may produce as much immediate mischief as a vice." *

Penn first exercised his benevolent spirit with the King by interceding for his college companion, John Locke, who had followed Shaftesbury in his forced exile into Holland, after losing his fellowship in Christ Church, Oxford. He obtained permission for Locke to return; but the philosopher would not so far admit his criminality as to receive a pardon.

Popular rumor designated Penn as a Papist and a Jesuit. Some verses, condoling the late King's death, and congratulating the accession of his

* "Review of the Causes of the Revolution of 1688." "Miscellaneous Work," American edition, p. 334.

brother, were circulated with the initials of William Penn attached to them, and were ascribed to him, in connection with a foolish report of his attending mass. This led him, in April, 1685, to write from Worminghurst, and to publish a sheet, entitled "Fiction found out," addressed to the members of his religious society, to rebut the idle charge. He also had a pleasant and effective correspondence with his friend, Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who, having dropped some suspicious remark about Penn's Popery, was kindly addressed by the Quaker, as one whom he esteemed "the first of his robe." He gave satisfaction to Dr. Tillotson, together with sufficient authority for denying the rumor to others. That eminent divine, after expressing his regret for a temporary alienation, provided Penn, in the closing letter, with a sort of affidavit, which would prove satisfactory to any reasonable man, and the friends renewed their visits. The curious reader who may peruse the correspondence will observe that Penn, in the exercise of a courtesy which he never found to be inconsistent with his peculiar views, uses circumlocutions to avoid the *thee* and *thou* in addressing Tillotson.

Penn has been impugned for being a spectator of the execution of the excellent Mrs. Gaunt, who suffered for an act of benevolence in harboring one of Monmouth's rebels. His motives for witnessing a scene, which he could not prevent, were doubtless such as have led many wise and good men to watch and study such spectacles.

Penn was at this time concerned in a transaction,

which, without further knowledge of the particulars, we cannot but regard as somewhat discreditable to him. Some young women of Taunton had presented a stand of colors and a Bible to the Duke of Monmouth. While some, who had been directly or indirectly concerned in that rebellion, paid the heaviest penalties, it was found a lucrative business to clear others by fines. These Taunton sympathizers were allowed such a relief, and the maids of honor, who were to receive the money, were of course interested to swell the amount. Penn was an agent between these parties, and received instructions from the maids of honor, "to make the most advantageous composition he could in their behalf."* Doubtless toleration, lenity, and the desire to save life, interested Penn in an agency from which he reaped no personal advantage.

In 1686, he published "A Further Account of Pennsylvania," extending his previous publication, with the results of his own inquiries and observations. He resumed likewise a work, which he can scarcely be said to have ever discontinued, namely, writing in defence of religious liberty. The Duke of Buckingham had published a book in support of liberty of conscience. An anonymous reviewer had embraced a reflection upon Penn, in an attack upon this book, saying of the Duke, that "the Pennsylvanian had entered him with his Quakeristical doctrines." This led Penn to publish "A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book from the Excep-

* Lord Sunderland to William Penn, 13th of February, 1686; *cellaneous Works*," American edition, p. 334.

tions of a nameless Author," and, immediately after, "A Persuasive to Moderation to dissenting Christians, in Prudence and Conscience, humbly submitted to the King and his great Council." In this work, as in others before it, Penn, with great learning and with good logic, met the objections to complete toleration, and illustrated from history, reason, and sound justice, its good effects in ancient and modern times. However much or little influence these treatises may have had on the court, they were soon followed by a proclamation from the King and Council for the release of those imprisoned on account of religion. The chief desire of the King, doubtless, was to relieve the Roman Catholics; but the only method, and that too an unlawful one, by which he could do this, eased all other dissenters. Twelve hundred Quakers were among the large number, who shared the benefits of this proclamation.

William Penn, being about to start upon a continental tour in the exercise of his ministry, was commissioned incidentally, by the King, to confer with the Prince of Orange, at the Hague, and to induce him to favor a general toleration in England, with a removal of all religious tests. Burnet was there, at the same time, using his influence to retain the tests. Here Penn had several interviews with the Prince and Burnet, but could not succeed, as he found his royal listener more earnest for Protestantism than for liberty. Even Burnet, as his readers well know, regarded Penn as a suspicious man, intriguing and conniving with James solely for the

benefit of the Roman Catholics. But Penn honestly regarded the King as a friend to entire liberty in religion; and only in that belief did he act with him and for him. Penn used his interest successfully to obtain a permission to return to England for the exiled Presbyterians and other fugitives, Scotch and English, at the Hague, who had opposed the illegal act of indulgence. He then extended his tour over Holland and Germany, making acquaintance with William Sewell, the historian of the Quakers; and, returning to England, he pursued the same ministerial work over the counties adjoining his own.

In April, 1687, the King followed his proclamation by a declaration of liberty of conscience to all, which removed all tests and penalties. This declaration the monarch made on his own responsibility, though he promised to have it legalized by an early call of a Parliament, and also to protect the legal rights of the Church of England. Mackintosh says of this bold act of the monarch, "There is no other example, perhaps, of so excellent an object being pursued by means so culpable, or for purposes in which evil was so much blended with good."

The Quakers rejoiced in an edict, which brought them relief from the most aggravating burdens and inflictions. Having no principle which forbade them to share a blessing in common with Papists and all others, they drew up an address to the King, at their yearly meeting, which Penn presented with a speech of his own. The King, in his answer professed a sincere attachment to the great principle of religious toleration. The Episcopalians, and the

bodies of Protestant dissenters, with few exceptions, were outraged at this merciful, though illegal, edict of the monarch, and visited their indignation upon the Papists and Quakers alike.

Penn then undertook another ministerial tour in England, in the course of which he frequently met with King James on his progresses, and was flattered, if susceptible to flattery, (and perhaps he was as a man, though not as a Quaker,) by having the monarch several times as a listener or worshipper at the meetings in which he preached. Yet, while they were thus meeting in their travels, Penn went to Oxford, while James was there, and, by a plain letter to the King, resisted his arbitrary attempts to place Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who from an Independent had become a Roman Catholic, over Magdalen College, and to remove the fellows who negatived and thwarted this purpose.

It is not among the least remarkable of the changeful experiences of Penn's life, that the learned academicians, from whose society he had been ejected as a young heretic, did not scruple to send a committee to him to implore his intercession with the King in their behalf. He had interviews and correspondence with their delegates, but he could not bend the will of the King in this matter; and his disappointed applicants joined in the suspicion that he secretly justified and abetted the arbitrary proceedings of the monarch. He certainly did give the whole weight of his influence in favor of the King's declaration of indulgence, which was almost universally regarded as a covert attempt to promote

Popery. Thus the popular feeling against Penn became rancorous. This was further imbibited by a publication, which, for the sake of relieving it from the prejudice attached to his name, he published anonymously, entitled "Good Advice to the Church of England, and Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters; in which it is endeavored to be made appear, that it is their Duty, Principle, and Interest, to abolish the penal Laws and Tests." This he followed by "The Great and Popular Objection against the Repeal of the Penal Laws briefly stated and considered." Reason, arguments, and evidence are adduced, and well nigh exhausted in these works, to prove what is now a self-evident proposition, though it was then obscured by passion and policy, as well as by popular error and mistaken wisdom.

The renewal of the King's Declaration of Indulgence, and an order of Council that it should be read in churches, though a promise was given that Parliament should speedily be called to ratify it, concentrated the opposition from all quarters, and brought it to decisive action. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with six of the Bishops, came before the King with a protest in the shape of a petition, and were imprisoned. Penn was even supposed to have advised the harsh measure against them. His anonymous authorship was known and charged upon him, as well as his mission to the Hague. Indeed, he was identified with the monarch; nor can we see how it could have been otherwise, for popular indignation oftentimes has not such distinct shadows from which to construct substances. Great popular

clamor ensued; the Episcopalians and the mass of Protestant dissenters were equally outraged, and the Papists meanwhile freely spoke their hopes.

William Popple, secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, wrote a long letter to Penn, who was his intimate friend, to obtain from him an explicit denial of the charges of having been educated at St. Omer's, of having received orders at Rome, of officiating as priest at Whitehall, in the mass, with a dispensation allowing him to be married, and like absurd accusations. Penn, in a letter dated October 24th, 1688, answered Mr. Popple at length; and in a most admirable and gentle spirit, with beauty and force of language, he gives all these charges a thorough and well proved denial; only a man with a clean breast could have written his reply.

In the next month, the political aspect was wholly changed. William of Orange came to England, and James fled to France. The Revolution brought real danger to Penn, and he would not so far allow suspicion as to escape from it by returning to his American province. He was at once called before the Council, on the 10th of December, 1688, and, after protesting his innocence in all his conduct through the late reign, he entered into bonds for his appearance at the next term. He appeared again at the Easter term, in 1689, and, as no person or evidence confronted him, he was discharged. He rejoiced over the Toleration Act, which was now passed. And who had better reason to rejoice? Who more than he, among the living or the dead, then had done more to secure that measure, which was not, even in

its full meaning, so much as the first syllable of justice?

For a brief interval after his discharge, Penn was comparatively at liberty to go to America, without subjecting himself to increased suspicion. The tidings thence, as we shall soon see, had not been of the most agreeable kind to the proprietor; but he delayed going that he might watch the operation of an experiment which he was trying there. Yet he was doomed to defer his second visit much longer than he desired. A friendly letter to him from the exiled James, requesting him to come and see him in France, was intercepted. Penn was arrested in consequence, and, being brought before the Council, he requested that he might have a hearing in presence of King William. His request was granted. He stood a long examination protesting his entire innocence, expressing his love for James, though he did not approve his policy, and alleging that he could not prevent the exiled monarch from writing to him if he saw fit. William, being satisfied of Penn's entire innocence of all traitorous designs, was willing to release him from all restraint; but, some of the Council advising more caution, he again gave bail for his appearance. He then resumed his preparations for America, and while pursuing them, the time came for him to answer to his recognizances. No one appearing against him, he was again discharged.

Wearied with five years of painful and harassing conflict against oppression in one or another form, Penn would at this time have gladly sought repose in

his colony; but other trials awaited him. The friends of James kept the nation, and indeed all Christian Europe, in a ferment. The French fleet was in the Channel; William was in Ireland. The Queen called on the militia, and issued a proclamation, on the 18th of July, 1690, bearing the names of certain alleged conspirators, including Penn. He was apprehended and imprisoned. At Michaelmas term, he was carried before the Court of King's Bench, tried, and acquitted. He now determined to leave England behind him, at least till more quiet times. It was extremely important, at this juncture, that he should be in Pennsylvania, which was distracted by misgovernment. The vessels prepared by him, with more passengers, were ready to sail; a government convoy was engaged; Penn staid to watch the dying hours of George Fox, to write a letter of Christian sympathy to the widow, and to bear testimony, in public meeting, to the honored and faithful life of his friend.

That arrant impostor, William Fuller, who was soon afterwards unmasked and committed to the pillory in his true character, had made oath against Penn as a traitor. He was to have been arrested on the 16th of January, 1691, while at the funeral of George Fox; but the officers were too late by an hour. Not feeling bound to subject himself to the discomfort and annoyance of a third public prosecution on the same false charge, nor to surrender himself voluntarily to bear testimony to his innocence, as he would have done in anything that concerned his religion, Penn avoided public view, and took a

private and retired lodging in London. He would not flee from justice, neither would he court another arrest. He kept himself ready to be found by those who might seek him. The vessels sailed, bearing letters and directions from him to Pennsylvania.

Another proclamation, founded on Fuller's charge, was issued against him in 1691, as having conspired with others to bring over James from France to his throne. This was the darkest period of life to this pure and devoted Christian man. All his former friends, exalted and humble, with but few exceptions, seemed to turn against him. Even the members of his religious Society, who had received from him services greater than from any other man, were alienated from him and suspected him. He wrote a gentle but earnest letter to their Yearly Meeting, on the 30th of May, 1691, to clear himself in their eyes. Locke, now in prosperity again, offered to reciprocate the favor which Penn had essayed to perform for him in obtaining a pardon. It is remarkable that Penn, in his own way, returned substantially the same answer which he had received from Locke; he would not accept a pardon for that of which he was innocent.

While Penn was thus in forced retirement, he was cheered by the visit of a few faithful friends, whose confidence no popular clamor and no temporary distrust could weaken. He employed himself laboriously with his pen, and, besides writing prefaces to the works of Robert Barclay, one of his former associates in the management of Jersey, and of John Burnyeat, he likewise published a small work, "Just

Measures, being an Epistle of Peace and Love to such Professors of Truth, as are under Dissatisfaction about the Order practiced in the Church of Christ." This treatise was designed to restore harmony in his Society, and to vindicate the right and liberty of its female members to have meetings by themselves for some business. A periodical, called *The Athenian Mercury* had attacked the principles of the Quakers, and Penn, still in retirement, replied, in 1692, in his work, "The New Athenians no noble Bereans." To these fruits of his more retired years is to be added yet another controversial and explanatory treatise, in answer to some perversions of his views by the Baptists, entitled "A Key, opening the Way to every Capacity how to distinguish the Religion professed by the People called Quakers from the Perversions and Misrepresentations of their Adversaries; with a brief Exhortation to all Sorts of People to examine their Ways and their Hearts, and turn speedily to the Lord."

The letters which he wrote at this period, so far as several of them still preserved would indicate, show how a manly and Christian heart supported him under his trials.* In two letters to Lord Romney, and one to Lord Rochester, intended for the King's eye, he asserts his entire innocence of deed, word, and wish, in reference to all charges of which he was accused. There is expressed in them a conscious dignity of soul, which is not only a guaranty

* Four letters, written by Penn at this time, may be found in the "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. IV. Pt. I. pp. 192-200.

of innocence, but a preventive of the use of such means of vindicating it as some of less magnanimity would feel free to employ.

To the unavoidable anxiety, which his situation must have occasioned to him, was now added the dangerous illness of his wife, the love of his youth, and the attached sharer of his religious views, and of his devoted efforts for the welfare of others. It would seem that he was separated from her, as she was then in the country.

Thus beset with various and oppressive trials, and greatly embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, and while longing for an honorable delivery, that he might go to America, or attend upon his wife, sinking in a decline, such representations of the disordered state of the colony were brought to England, as, aggravated by enemies, led to an act of great injustice toward Penn. He was deprived of his government, without having an opportunity to withstand the measure.

CHAPTER X

Pennsylvania during the Absence of the Proprietor.—Vice and Dissensions.—Penn's Letters.—Changes in the Government.—Deputy-Governor Blackwell.—Lloyd and Markham.—Sedition in the Territories.—Religious Dissensions.—George Keith.—Penn's Troubles.—His Labors for his Province when deprived of it.—Governor Fletcher appointed.—He demands military Supplies.—Penn liberated.—His Wife dies.—He is reinstated.—His second Marriage.—His Son dies.—Ministry.—Embarks again for America.

IMMEDIATELY after Penn's arrival in England after leaving his colony in 1684, the information which he received from it in private letters gave him anxiety. It had indeed the elements of high prosperity, and he knew that men of integrity, devoted to his interests, were there to sustain the right. A colony of Germans had given the name of Germantown to a thriving settlement, which they had founded near Philadelphia, in 1685-6, and vessels continually arrived to reinforce the older plantations. But vice already had its agents and temptations among a people, who, generally speaking, were probably the most sober, industrious, and virtuous community ever gathered on earth. By letters, which passed between Penn and his correspondents, it appears that the caves on the river's bank, which the first settlers had scooped out and defended with boughs for temporary shelter, had become places of lewdness and intem-

perance, and that tippling houses were numerous. In a spirit of earnest expostulation, the proprietor wrote that these alarming evils should be at once withstood, and he at the same time rebuked the extortions in the sale of lands, and the excesses of his surveyor, Holme, who had charged upon purchasers some expensive drinking festivals.

But more general causes of trouble soon appeared. The different branches of government did not harmonize with each other, nor with the judiciary. There were, indeed, some irreconcilable elements in the composition of the population itself, which led to some collision between the natural tempers and the supposed rights of the Quakers on the one hand, and the Dutch and Swedes on the other. Nicholas Moore, President of the Free Society of Traders, a member of the Council and of the Assembly, and also Chief-Justice, was impeached by the Council, on the 15th of May, 1685. He was accused of various high crimes and misdemeanors, under eleven specifications.* No moral charge is embraced in them; but he seems to have been passionate, and to have resisted the alterations and measures proposed in the Council. He was not a Quaker. Patrick Robinson, clerk of the Provincial Court, was ordered to produce the records of that tribunal in proof of the charges against Moore. This he refused to do, and was imprisoned, while Moore was expelled from the Assembly, and, declining to answer to the summons of the Council, was driven from his seat as judge.

*The accusations against Moore are given at length in "Minutes of the Council," Vol. I. pp. 84, 85.

Penn, on receiving this disagreeable information, wrote over, counselling moderation and forbearance. He complained, too, of great injustice done to himself, his supply and his quit-rents being withheld. He had already lost by the colony more than six thousand pounds, and was too much embarrassed to be able to visit it. Being satisfied that the Provincial Council was too large, and its members too irregular in their attendance, for an effective executive body, he appointed, in its stead, five commissioners as the executive. Nicholas Moore was one of these, making it evident that the proprietor had not lost his confidence in him. The instructions * to the commissioners, dated February, 1687, give them the executive power, in place of the Council, their doings to be subject to Penn's confirmation. They demand order and regularity in attendance, that all laws passed during his absence should be annulled, that the Assembly should be dismissed and then recalled, and that such of the above laws as were good should be reënacted. Thus the government consisted of three bodies, the Commissioners, the Council, and the Assembly.

Penn wrote again in June, instructing the commissioners to enforce the impost act, for the support of government. He had refused an export duty freely offered him by the Assembly, but, in 1684, had accepted a small duty on wines and spirituous liquors. He complains of the neglect to furnish him with official information in attested and authoritative documents; and again, with tempered though posi-

* Given by Proud, Vol. I. p. 305.

tive expostulation, he refers to the deep sense of injury which he suffered in the withholding of all his dues, while his quit-rents, to which he was so honestly entitled, amounted to five hundred pounds a year. Thomas Lloyd, also, in whom he reposed much confidence, was weary of his office as president of the Council, and was anxious to resign it. Penn released him, though unwillingly.

In 1688, the proprietor reduced the number of commissioners from five to three, designing to have a Deputy-Governor and two assistants, and intending the former office for Thomas Lloyd. He, however, persisted in declining it, and Penn could find no Quaker qualified and willing to assume it. Through an interview which he had with the wife of Captain Thomas Blackwell, in England, Penn was induced to commit the trust to him. He was not a Friend, but had been treasurer of the Commonwealth's army, and, as such, much honored. He was in Boston when he received his commission and instructions from Penn, dated September 25th, 1688,* but went to Philadelphia at the end of the year, and met the Assembly in May, 1689.

Penn hoped that Governor Blackwell would have great influence, and would exert it wisely and effectively. He instructed him to collect the quit-rents, and gave him prudent directions about the laws, the roads, and other concerns. But the distractions, which already existed, continued. The great seal was refused to Blackwell, so that his laws could not be ratified; he was in constant collision with the other

* These are given in Proud, Vol. I. p. 339.

officers, and, as Penn tried in vain to appease the strife, he advised Blackwell to resign, which he did, and returned to England, after having governed but a few months. He was of gentlemanly, and perhaps of haughty manners, used to military methods, and probably very earnest in demanding the quit-rents, and in pressing his authority. ¹ He therefore gave offence to the Quakers, and alienated others.

All these strifes contributed to weaken respect for the proprietor himself, as if an absent governor was to be blamed for all the mismanagement of his deputies, while he was the greatest sufferer. On the resignation of Blackwell, the executive reverted to the Council, and Lloyd resumed the presidency. Penn gave his approbation to this state of things, and most earnestly advised conciliatory and peaceful measures. He directed Lloyd to set up a grammar school in Philadelphia; and accordingly the Friends' Public School was founded in 1689. George Keith, who soon became a source of infinite trouble in the colony, was then highly esteemed, and was its first master. Penn was compelled to remain in England, in retirement, at this juncture, when his presence in the colony was so much needed, and to exercise his influence by writing only.

A new and alarming difficulty, which had been long in preparation, now presented itself, in the form of a seditious movement on the part of the Territories, or the three Lower Counties. Though incorporated with the province under one government, the incongruous elements of population, prejudice, and interest could not be harmonized. The territo-

ries wished to have separate magistrates and officers, and to choose them for themselves. Their members in the Council met illegally, and undertook to legislate; but their work was undone. Great confusion ensued, and the councillors from the territories proposed a bill, authorizing six of their number, of nine, to appoint all their officers. This request, being submitted to Penn, offended him. He, however, offered to the province and territories their free choice of either of the three executive methods, which had been already tried, by council, commissioners, or deputy-governor. The province preferred a deputy-governor; but this was the least acceptable method to the territories, which objected to being burdened with his support. They preferred commissioners; but rather than the country should be without a government, they were willing to give the power to the Council, provided that no officers were imposed upon them without the consent of their members in it. Lloyd wrote to them that he, as deputy, would free them from all burden for his support. The territories could not be brought to terms with the province, and therefore Lloyd, on the 10th of May, 1691, assumed the government of the latter, and Markham, the secretary, took a corresponding office in the territories. Penn acquiesced with reluctance in this result, sending commissions accordingly, and wrote to Lloyd, expressing displeasure with him for being willing to accept half of a government. But the Council, in an official letter to the proprietary, wholly exculpated Lloyd from any blame in his proceedings. The two Deputies united in writing a letter to Penn,

and the territories were so much pleased with having their civil administration to themselves, that a good peace seemed to be purchased at the expense of a divided and ruptured government.

A new and most vexatious cause of disturbance now presented itself to divide the colony by a religious feud, as it had been divided by politics, only with tenfold more of acrimony. George Keith, who, for many years, had been a distinguished preacher and controversial writer among the Friends, a man of much learning, and of strong passions, brought about a schism in his Society, with all its disastrous consequences. He began by endeavoring to amend and make more rigid the discipline of the Society; and then he attacked some of its most eminent leaders with the charge of heresy in doctrine. He gave great offence by wearing his hat while a zealous preacher was at prayer, and by showing "a brittle temper" when opposed by any one. All the private and public conferences, which were designed by the most gentle means to curb his spirit and address his better feelings, were ineffectual, and resulted only in giving him opportunities to draw a party to his side. It would be difficult now to form a perfectly fair opinion about the merits of the schism; but Keith had several supporters among Friends of the highest standing, whom, however, he soon lost, though, even after his ejection from the Society, he had a crowded meeting of his own. He opposed the exercise of force in civil government; and, from objecting to the arrest of a pirate, he proceeded to libel the magistrates in print, for which offence he was tried and

fined. After much disputation, he was disowned by Friends, at a meeting on the 20th of June, 1692, who, in their testimony against him, after referring to their "tedious exercise, and vexatious perplexity," made out a very clear case against him. Their act was confirmed by the Yearly Meeting, in the following September. Keith then appealed to the General Meeting, at London, and Penn, until more fully informed, was inclined to his side; but there the proceedings against him were ratified. He then obtained ordination, as an Episcopal clergyman, from the Bishop of London, and after preaching a while in England, with especial zeal, against the Quakers, he came to this country as a missionary of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians. Being much slighted, and little favored, he returned to England, where he continued to preach in the Church until he died.

All these religious and civil distractions in the colony were repeated with aggravations in England. Penn's enemies about the court made the most of them to the King, and adduced them as evidences that Penn was wholly unfit to govern, and that the colony would be ruined without some decisive interference of his Majesty. Penn himself had foreseen the result, and, in his letters to his colony, had repeatedly and expressly predicted it. Pressed by the facts, and the misrepresentations, which were urged upon them, and without giving Penn a just hearing, the King and Queen, by commission, dated October 21st, 1692, directed Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, to take upon him the administration of

Pennsylvania and the territories. Thus Penn, though retaining his proprietary rights, was deprived of all his authority. He, however, wrote to Fletcher, who was under many obligations to him, cautioning him, and almost protesting, against his exercise of the government.

This was certainly a most disastrous and trying period in the life of William Penn, comprehending the various calamities, from which heart and mind alike shrink back in dismay or gloom. So indeed it is, and ever has been, with most men, that, in the experience of such trials, they are overwhelmed, unless sustained by an inward peace, which never forsakes them, and still guided by an aim, which never fades in dimness from their faith. Penn, yet in retirement, might mourn over a blighted hope, a broken design, a lost province, a dishonored name, and a dying wife at a distance from him. George Keith, his former bosom friend and travelling companion, was now his bitter enemy. Many of the most influential and cherished members of his own religious Society had grown cold in their attachment to him, and passed reflections upon him, not because they credited the idle story of his being a Papist, but because they thought he had long taken a more active and exciting part in the distractions of politics, than became an humble Christian man. The rich resources of his character are shown in the calm faith, and the self-control, and the good hopes, with which he met his reverses.

The King seems to have been favorably disposed to Penn; but his advisers chose to retain their sus-

pitions, and to receive inimical reports from abroad and at home. No attempt was made to arrest him, though he might have been readily found. He did not confine himself to his lodgings, but rather avoided public notice. He seems to have been regarded as a prisoner at large, within such limits as admitted of his seizure, should any definite charge arise from the general suspicion which attached to him.

But though he could not govern Pennsylvania, he might still befriend it; and he determined upon returning thither, that he might aid in preserving its constitution, and in advancing the plans, which he had designed for it. His great outlays, without an income from them, had embarrassed him. He therefore wrote to some of his friends, asking them to find a hundred persons in the colony, each of whom would lend him a hundred pounds for four years, without interest, on his own bond, promising to bring over his family. But his request was not met. He employed these saddened hours in labors of the pen. The fruits of a rich experience, of much knowledge of his own heart and of other men, and of a very extended observation, are admirably expressed in a little book written by him in 1693, entitled "Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of Human Life." In the same year he published "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe." In this Essay, which is of a thoroughly practical character, he comprehended nearly all that has since been written of the folly of war, and the methods and blessings of

peace, while he seems to have been the first to propose a congress of nations for the settlement of disputes and quarrels.

Glancing, meanwhile, at the affairs of Pennsylvania, we find that the people had reason to regret the absence and misfortunes of their true friend. Governor Fletcher amazed them by entering upon his administration in April, 1693, with the pomp of a military retinue; he offended them by calling the Assembly, not as the charter appointed, but according to the form which he used in New York; and he drew from them a protest by pressing oaths and tests. He yielded to them on some points, though, by alleging that he did it only through favor, he greatly displeased the people, who thought that they retained all their privileges as guaranteed to them by the charter which brought them to America.

The Governor, though allowing for the scruples of a large portion of the inhabitants of the province and territories, wished them to grant a supply, not for war, but for an incident of it, to help in protecting Albany from the French. He showed a message to that effect from the Queen, which seemed to require all the colonies to help in the defence of the frontiers. The Assembly, postponing action upon this demand, withheld the supply till, by protests and altercation, they had made their compliance a condition of the approval by the Governor of the bills which they passed. They at last voted a tax, amounting to seven hundred and sixty pounds, sixteen shillings and two pence; stipulating, however, that half of it should be a present to the Governor, and the other

half a gift to the crown. The Governor then approved the bills, dissolved the Assembly at its own request, and returned in the winter to New York, leaving William Markham as his deputy. Fletcher visited Philadelphia again in May, 1694, and called the Assembly in a legal way. With much adroitness, he attempted to obtain more money, not directly for war, but to support, and clothe, and relieve the Indians, who were to fight, or to suffer from fighting. The Assembly refused to comply. Another session, in September, saw the same method renewed; and this completed the administration of Governor Fletcher, for the fortunes of Penn revived.

Honorable feelings and simple justice could not longer allow such wrong to be done to the lawful Governor of Pennsylvania. Powerful friends, whose esteem he had not lost, among whom were Locke, Tillotson, and Popple, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lords Somers, Rochester, Ranelagh, and Sydney, interceded in his behalf with the King, and vouched his whole life of unexceptionable and unstained integrity. King William said he had nothing against Penn, and that he was a free man to come and go at his pleasure. Lord Sydney pressed the King to signify this to Penn, through the Secretary of State. This was done in November, 1693. But Penn, being desirous of a more public and satisfactory release, was heard before the Council, and honorably acquitted.* His satisfaction at this result was overcast by the domestic affliction, which he

* Particulars are given in a letter of Penn, in Proud, Vol. I. p. 401.

saw was at hand. His wife, a woman of eminent merits, and widely beloved by others, as she was tenderly dear to him, had long been in a decline. She participated in his satisfaction for his honorable discharge, and his freedom was at once devoted to her. He watched over her, and shared the comforts of her resignation and faith till she died, on the 23d of February, 1694. He then bore testimony to her virtuous life and her Christian death, in "An Account of the blessed End of my Dear Wife, Gulielma Maria Penn."

A congenial and comforting employment, at the time of his severe bereavement, was found by William Penn, in writing, as a preface to the Journal of George Fox, "An Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in which their fundamental Principles, Doctrines, Worship, Ministry, and Discipline are plainly declared." Of course the most engaging portion of this preface is that which concerns Fox himself. Penn had also become much interested in the Jewish people, and, for the sake of winning them to the Christian faith, he published, this year, "A Visitation to the Jews." He likewise published an account of his travels through Holland and Germany, in 1667. He had the satisfaction, too, of being restored to a full and warm regard by the members of his religious Society, who seemed now to value him for what he really was.

Penn had sent a respectful petition to the King, that his government might once more be confided to him. The request was fairly considered, and was successful, for it appeared to be but just. The instru-

ment, which was signed on the 20th of August, 1694, was all the more acceptable, because it alleged that the disorder and confusion into which his colony had fallen had arisen from his necessary absence. He sent a commission to William Markham as his deputy, on the 24th of November, 1694, and closed the year by a ministerial tour in England.

Penn's purpose now was to return to his colony at once, but various occupations and duties still interposed. In 1695, renewing the work of controversy, he published "A Reply to a pretended Answer, by a nameless Author, to William Penn's Key." This work, elucidating and confirming a previous one, contains also a vindication of his own consistency. He appeared before the House of Commons with the Quakers' Petition, that their affirmations might pass for oaths. The petition was brief, but significant and forcible, alleging their strict conscientiousness, their much suffering for it, and their readiness to meet the punishment of perjury for falsehood. Penn made another religious tour in England, preaching and disputing abundantly and effectively.

On the 5th of March, 1696, he formed a second connection by marrying Hannah Callowhill, daughter and granddaughter of Quakers, and possessed of traits of character which he most esteemed. But his new prospects were again clouded by another terrible affliction. His eldest son, Springett, a young man very dear to his father for his virtues and promise, and for his entire religious sympathy, died of consumption, on the 10th of April, in his twenty-first year. This was a loss which Penn might feel would

never be restored in either of his other children. He wrote and published a pathetic account of the sickness and death of this young man, which readers may peruse with all the more satisfaction, as the father was not one to exaggerate in such a matter.

The fruit of his meditations and labors at this period he published in a work entitled, "Primitive Christianity revived in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers, written in Testimony to the present Dispensation of God through them to the World, that Prejudices may be removed, the Simple informed, the Well-inclined encouraged, and Truth and its innocent Friends rightly represented." In these successive treatises or expositions of faith, the system which Penn adopted in his early years is expanded and defined. Being made more clear and self-consistent, it became somewhat more conformed to other systems, and more in harmony with perfect truth. He also took an active part in the controversy with the schismatic Keith, and in a pamphlet, called "More Work for George Keith," he quoted and turned against him some of his own previous defences of that faith which he now maligned.

Penn waited upon Peter the Great, of Russia, while in London, and endeavored to interest him in the views of the Quakers, by conversing with him in High Dutch, and by giving him the books of the Society. The czar was so much won to his zealous teacher as to attend some Quaker meetings in England, and afterwards on the Continent.

Penn took up temporary residence in Bristol, in 1697, probably with reference to commercial and

mercantile business, though he attended meetings, and accompanied the preachers of the Society around the neighborhood. True always to the great cause of entire liberty of conscience in religion, he, this year, published "A Caution humbly offered about passing the Bill against Blasphemy." This was directed against a bill then before the House of Lords, which made a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity to be blasphemy by construction. It was for this that Penn opposed it. The bill was dropped.

In 1698, before completing his measures towards reëmbarking for his colony, Penn made a visit to Ireland, to preach, and look after his estate there. The preaching seems to have prevailed over the business. He attended all the regular and many occasional meetings of Friends, and was an honored and most impressive advocate of his high views. Crowds flocked everywhere to hear him. While in Dublin, he published "The Quaker a Christian," in answer to a pamphlet by one Plympton, with whom he had had a dispute, entitled "A Quaker no Christian." He sent an epistle from Ireland to the Yearly Meeting at London. He also published "Gospel Truths held by the People called Quakers," and, on his return to England, "A Defence of a Paper called Gospel Truths against the exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's Testimony." After a visit to London and Deptford, to bid farewell to some Friends sailing for Pennsylvania, this earnest and laborious man again tasked the press to print "The Truth of God as held by the People called Quakers; being a short Vindication of them from the Abuses and Misrepresentations put upon them by envious Apostates and mercenary

Adversaries.” There is more of variety than would naturally be expected in these repeated expositions of opinion.

One more public effort in behalf of his brethren was required of Penn before he left England. There had been a public discussion at West Derham, between an equal number of Episcopal clergymen and Quakers; and the popular opinion was, that the latter had triumphed. Many of the clergy of Norfolk took up the dispute, and published “A Brief Discovery,” in which the views of the Quakers were most grossly misrepresented as mischievous and dangerous. This was presented to Parliament with a design of contracting the liberty now allowed to Quakers. Penn contented himself with circulating an expostulatory and cautionary paper among the members, and with publishing “A Just Censure of Francis Bugg’s Address to the Parliament against the Quakers.”

Though Penn was accompanied by his wife and family on his second embarkation for Pennsylvania, yet, in view of the uncertainty of his life, he wrote his best counsels before his departure, and published them in a little volume, called “Advice to his Children for their civil and religious Conduct.” The volume contains excellent rules of life, with the recommendation of all Christian graces and virtues. He wrote from on shipboard at Cowes, on the 3d of September, 1699, “A Farewell Epistle of Love and Exhortation to Friends,” and sailed on the 9th of the month. His protracted voyage of nearly three months was accounted by some to a special Providence, protecting him from the yellow fever, which in the interval had desolated the colony.

CHAPTER XI

Affairs of Pennsylvania.—Dissensions.—Military Supplies refused.—New Act of Settlement by Markham.—Penn's second Arrival.—Birth of a Son.—The Assembly.—Penn's humane Measures in Behalf of Slaves and Indians in Part frustrated.—The Constitution.—Penn is called to England again.—State of the Colony.—The Assembly Adopts the new Constitution.—The Indians.—City Charter of Philadelphia.—Penn's final Departure.

REVERTING to the fact already stated, that Penn, on the restoration to him of his proprietary rights and authority, in 1694, had appointed Markham as his deputy, a brief review of affairs during the interval will present the condition of the colony at the time of Penn's second arrival. Markham, assuming his office on the 26th of March, 1695, called a new provincial Council of three members, and an Assembly of six members, from each county of the province and territories. The Council met on the 20th of April, the Assembly on the 10th of September. Altercations at once arose, because he followed the precedent of Fletcher, rather than the provisions of the charter. The session was soon closed, and another commenced in October. Markham renewed the demand of Fletcher, founded on Queen Anne's letter, for money to aid in the fortifications of New York. Penn seems to have favored this demand,

and it is probable that an implied condition on which his government was restored to him, was, that he should bear his share in such exactions.

This demand of money, for a purpose which, it could not be disguised, was directly or indirectly connected with military proceedings, was most offensive to the Quaker portion of the people. Indeed, the whole people opposed it, as an unsafe precedent, or as a trespass upon the terms under which they had emigrated; and as they tried all means of evading, deferring, or resisting a compliance with it, and, whenever they yielded, connected one or more conditions with their grants, we may readily conceive that the demand was fruitful of contentions.

Markham convened the Assembly again, on the 26th of October, 1696. They remonstrated, as before, against the illegality of the call. They were now anxious for a change in the mode of government, and, under the name of a new Act of Settlement, another charter or constitution was proposed. Markham again presented Fletcher's request for more money; and, after much bickering, by way of compromise, Markham confirmed the new constitution in November, and the Assembly voted three hundred pounds, to be appropriated, however, to the relief of distressed Indians, near Albany. The Act of Settlement provided that the Council should consist of two, and the Assembly of four members, from each of the three counties of the province and the territories; that an affirmation should serve as an oath for Quakers; and that the Assembly should have the power to propose laws.

A temporary quiet was thus restored in the legislature, while the general interests of the colony were flourishing. Markham asked for more money in 1697, and was respectfully refused, on the plea of poverty, and the assertion that the neighboring provinces had not contributed their fair proportion. A grossly exaggerated report had reached London, charging upon the Pennsylvanians the crime of piracy, and an illicit contempt of the navigation laws of England. The Pennsylvania government, therefore, issued a proclamation against such offenders.

On the whole, the state of affairs was as propitious as Penn could have expected to find it when he arrived in December, 1699. Leaving his son William in England, he had brought with him his wife, and his daughter Lætitia, probably then his only other child. His son John was born in Philadelphia, about a month after his arrival. The general expectation, encouraged too by the language of the proprietor, was, that he would make Pennsylvania the permanent home of himself and family. He landed at Chester, and was received by the Friends with the most affectionate respect and joy. An accident marred the occasion; as some young men, contrary to express orders, discharged some old ship's cannon, one of them lost an arm by the forbidden display. After attending a religious meeting at Chester, on Sunday, Penn went up to Philadelphia, and there held another meeting. His presence caused delight to the multitude, though it was observed that some, who knew him not, and were not Quakers, but had come since his last visit, did not participate in the general joy.

He at once issued his writs calling together the Assembly, and, in the interval preceding its meeting, he mingled freely and heartily with the people, attending courts, weddings, and religious meetings, and endeavoring to acquaint himself with the whole interests and occupations of all. His residence was at Pennsbury, when he allowed himself any rest; but he had also a dwelling in Philadelphia. The severe weather of winter precluded any extended journeys. He kept the Assembly in session but a fortnight, as his chief purpose was to pass some decisive laws against piracy and illicit trade, to remove all reproach from the colony.

The concern, which at this period weighed most heavily upon the heart of Penn, was the condition of the negro slaves and the Indians, but more especially of the former. The outrageous iniquity which has rioted in its foulest license in this land, where it ought never even to have been named, the holding of human beings as slaves, was introduced into Pennsylvania with the very beginnings of its plantations. Even the Quakers, whose standards and practice are allowed, by consenting testimony, to come nearest to the law of Christianity, engaged in the abominable traffic. Their sufficient excuse to their own hearts, and perhaps their sufficient defence against the judgment of our day, was, that they were exercising a humane mercy, in receiving to a share in their comforts and blessings, as civilized beings, the abject and barbarous victims of heathenism. Penn resolved, that, both in his religious Society and in his civil government, the most effective measures should

be taken to mitigate the evil so long as it must be endured, and to remove it if that were possible.

The cause of the negro slaves had already been pressed upon the attention of the Friends in Pennsylvania before Penn's return. The honor of the first movement belongs to those emigrants from Kirchheim, who had settled at Germantown. In 1688, they had presented a paper to the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Burlington, protesting against the buying, selling, and holding men in slavery, as inconsistent with the Christian religion. Some other local and subordinate meetings having, from time to time, sent similar protests, the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, in 1696, issued its advice that Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing of any more slaves, and that they be religiously watchful of those already in their possession. George Keith and his party took the same ground, in the same year. The immediate result was, that the slaves were treated with more kindness and regard, and were looked upon as members of the families who had their services.*

Penn introduced the subject with great earnestness and with success, before his first Monthly Meeting, in 1700. It was there determined, that a Monthly Meeting should be held expressly for slaves, and that their masters should attend with them and labor for their Christian improvement. The same interest was excited in behalf of the Indians, and Penn took upon himself the expense of interpreters.

* See the valuable paper, entitled "Notices of Negro Slavery as connected with Pennsylvania, by Edward Bettle," in "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. Pt. 2, p. 365.

During an interval of relief from the duties of the Council board, the Governor occupied himself in providing for the health and cleanliness of Philadelphia, requiring all slaughter-houses to be upon the river's bank, removing other nuisances, and arranging for the comfort of the inhabitants. The town then contained seven hundred dwellings.

On the meeting of the Assembly, on the 10th of May, 1700, Penn proposed deliberation upon still another form of government, as the people were dissatisfied with that of Markham, which had been adopted in 1696. The Governor designed that sufficient time and thought should now be spent upon a constitution, so that, with the help of past experience, the ends of government might be answered, and the state be settled in a regular and permanent method of administration. He did not wish the matter to be hastily decided, and therefore, without pressing this Assembly to immediate action, he asked them to keep the subject in view while other business advanced.

In June, Penn laid before the Assembly his views and wishes in regard to the treatment of the slaves, a matter to him of increasingly painful interest. He sent to the Assembly three bills; one "for regulating negroes in their morals and marriages," another "for the regulation of their trials and punishments," and another "for preventing abuses upon the negroes." While the Assembly passed the second only of these bills, to the great grief of the Governor, the other two were negatived. The reasons probably were, that while the Council, composed entirely of Qua-

kers, unanimously coincided with Penn, the Assembly, in which the Quakers were a minority, did not feel those scruples of conscience on this matter of slavery; and that the members from the territories, who were again uneasy, opposed nearly all legislation at this time for the mere sake of opposition. Some other bills were passed, and the Assembly dissolved on the 8th of June.

After attending an Indian feast, and there deepening the regard which the natives entertained for him, Penn travelled through his province, the Jerseys, and Maryland, in the work of the ministry. On the 14th of October, he again convened the Assembly, which met at New Castle to favor the territories. The chief business was to consider the new constitution, and to provide for the support of government. But the agitation, caused by the uneasiness and opposition of the members from the territories, absorbed the chief attention of the Assembly. They were afraid lest a further subdivision of the province into counties, and its increasing preponderance, would cause the territories to be outvoted and oppressed, and they incessantly opposed the quiet settlement of all other business. Penn, for a time, appeased the strife by a measure, which allowed that, for all bills particularly affecting the territories, the assent of two-thirds of their own representatives, and of a majority of the representatives of the province, should be requisite. Scarcely, however, was this conciliatory indulgence assented to, when another dispute arose about proportioning the tax then to be levied for the support of government. The territorial rep-

representatives showed that they had the power of opposition, which they wished to retain. After much bickering, Penn again devised a measure of peace, and the tax was levied in a proportion of a little less than a quarter of the amount upon the territories. The new frame of government was still slowly considered, but not passed, and the Assembly dissolved on the 27th of November.

Early in 1701, Penn had intended to go to East Jersey, to aid in quelling a riot there. Quiet was restored before he set out upon the journey; but from a letter, which he wrote on the occasion, it appears that he strongly advocated a resort to force on such emergencies, and was no foe to the most effective magisterial authority.

On the 23d of April, he held, at Philadelphia, another treaty of amity with the representatives of various Indian tribes, including the Five Nations; presents were exchanged, mutual agreements were made, and the natives acknowledged the King of England, not as their master, but as their protector, in preference above the King of France.* A company was formed in the Council, to trade with the Indians, so as to avoid abuses, and to bring them to the Christian religion. It was agreed that none should buy land of them, within the charter limits, without the permission of the proprietor; that none should sell them strong liquors; and that no foreigner should trade with them.

Penn convened the Assembly again on the 1st of

* The terms and agreements of this treaty are given in Proud, Vol. I. p. 428-432.

August, and laid before them a letter from the King, demanding three hundred and fifty pounds as their portion of a sum assessed upon all the proprietary governments for fortification and defence. This was a hard request for Penn to make, and harder still for the Assembly to allow. After much shuffling and procrastination, the money was refused on the alleged grounds of poverty, and that the other colonies had not contributed their fair proportion to the expense of previous defences.

Penn had, about this time, another parley at Pennsbury with a tribe of Indians which he had not met before. We have an account of it in the journal of John Richardson, a minister among the Friends, who was present. It seems, that, in answer to his earnest queries about the Indian belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, the natives expressed a conviction that the good enjoyed hereafter warm and pleasant hunting-grounds, with comfortable blankets, while the wicked were banished to a cold place, and shivered there for the lack of clothing. This is an inversion of the more common view of retribution among Christians. A cool place of torment is certainly a novelty in religious speculation.

But the plans of the proprietor were again arrested in their progress by the tidings transmitted to him from England, that a measure was already pending before the House of Lords, for bringing all the proprietary governments under the crown. Some real abuses, some exaggerated reports, but more real fear of the growing strength of the colonies, suggested this measure. It was kept in abeyance, for a time,

by some who were interested in opposing it. But Penn found in it cogent reasons for his return to England. Doubtless other considerations had weight with him, at this time, to lessen his desire to remain where he was. He was far from being entirely at ease in his government, or from finding the pleasant home, and the prosperous toil, which he had anticipated. An increasing variety of character, and other elements in the population of the colony, the disaffection of the territories, the issues constantly raised between the Quakers and others, and the great individual liberty allowed, caused frequent collisions of passion and interest. From the letters of Penn and his correspondents, it appears that his wife and daughter were uneasy and discontented, and that the unwillingness of the people to provide for his support, or to reimburse his heavy outlays, had much weight with him.*

He determined upon a return voyage; and at once summoning the Assembly, which met at Philadelphia, on the 15th of September, he gave them the reasons for his departure, expressed his strong reluctance at the necessity of going away, suggested the importance of their legislative action, and repeated the King's demand for three hundred and fifty pounds for the fortifications. The last item was summarily disposed of by a negative. The Assembly presented to him a respectful address, and twenty articles, relating to their privileges and desires, on

* See the rich and valuable antiquarian gatherings of John F. Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania," Vol. I. pp. 24, 167.

which they wished for his action. He nobly offered them the privilege of nominating his deputy or successor; but they declined to avail themselves of the offer. Some of their articles he passed; others, which embraced a most impertinent and improper encroachment upon his own estate and private rights, he refused with some severity of temper, which the occasion justified. The people, not knowing whom they might have to deal with after him, and well aware that they must make the most of his indulgence if they were coming under a direct royal control, were disposed to trespass upon him even beyond the bounds of common decency.* His honest indignation soon subsided with the occasion which called it forth.

While the Council was in session, a delegation of Indians was admitted to another friendly conference, and received presents when they took their leave of the proprietor and Governor.

Another rupture was now made by the delegates from the territories. Some of them withdrew, and were about returning home. Penn employed all his persuasive power in attempting to conciliate them. He met them by themselves, and, after a patient hearing of the seceders, he reconciled them, by promising them a final security against their ever being

* The address and articles of the Assembly, with Penn's answer, are in Proud, Vol. II. Appendix V. Among other exactions made upon Penn were the demand of the free gift of some of his own reserved land, a request that the quit-rent charge might be removed, and that new terms of purchase might be made, and a claim that his unsold lots might be had at the rate of the first cost, without any allowance for their increased value.

outvoted, in having a separate government for themselves, if they should desire it.

The Assembly revised and enacted about one hundred laws. The new frame of government, which was essentially the same as that passed by Markham, except in allowing the territories to separate from the government of the province, and to have one of their own in three years, if they desired it, was ratified by Penn, on the 28th of October, 1701, and continued in force so long as the English monarch controlled the colony. Penn then appointed a Council of eight, with executive power, and made Andrew Hamilton, a distinguished and influential proprietor of East New Jersey, his Deputy-Governor.

One of the last official acts of William Penn, before he embarked, was to make Philadelphia a city, by a charter signed on the 25th of October, 1701, and presented on the 29th of October. Edward Shippen was the first Mayor. Penn then embarked with his family for England. It was the last time on which he was to look upon those fresh scenes of human effort and conflict, for which his soul yearned as fitted for the exercise of its noblest faculties. It is vain to ask what effect his continued residence here would have had upon the prospects and destiny of that noble state, which is honored in bearing his unsullied name.

CHAPTER XII

Penn's Misfortunes in England.—Queen Anne.—His Address to her for the Quakers.—Discouraging News from his Colony.—The Territories secede.—Penn sends Evans as his Deputy.—William Penn, Junior.—Misconduct and Unpopularity of Evans.—Dissensions and Remonstrances.—Evans recalled.—Penn's Embarrassments.—A Prisoner for Debt.—Sends Gookin as his Deputy.—More Troubles in Pennsylvania.—James Logan.—Penn's expostulatory Letter.—Mortgages his Province, and resolves to sell it.—His Health fails.—His Decline, and Death.

WILLIAM PENN arrived at Portsmouth in December, 1701. The primary end of his return was soon answered, as the project for bringing the proprietary governments, by purchase, under the direct control of the crown, was soon abandoned. But duties of various kinds occupied a portion of his time, though labors of devotion and love for others continued to employ, as they always had employed, the larger measure of it. He returned to England to bear renewed disappointments, to suffer further indignities, to witness the frustration of many of his noble plans, and, amid the imbecility and helplessness of a long decline, to retain no other faculty but that of giving expression to the deep love, which glowed to the very last in his soul. These varied trials are the lot of all, who, by public service or by philanthropic endeavors, open so many avenues for them to their hearts.

They have fallen heavily upon the wisest and best of the earth. Indeed, there is nothing which so relieves the dark mystery of evil, as the well proved fact, that the wisest and best of the earth are appointed to bear its heaviest inflictions, and still to conquer by the might of a diviner principle. Penn bore his share, and it was a very large one, in this hard conflict. His trials were those of the great; his victory was that of the good.

The limits of this biography are restricted to the most brief mention of incidents, which concerned the proprietor of Pennsylvania; the reader must look elsewhere for the history of that province.

The death of King William, on the 16th of March, 1702, did not essentially affect the interests of Penn. Queen Anne had been, and continued to be, his friend, respecting his great virtues, admiring his whole character, and being willing to forward his plans. She renewed the promise of toleration to the Quakers, and he carried up to her their address of thanks. He took lodgings at Kensington, to be near the court, and doubtless enjoyed much social happiness with the friends who loved and honored him. He published, in 1701, a second part to his "Fruits of Solitude," and in the following year wrote a letter, entitled "Considerations upon the Bill against occasional Conformity;" that bill being then before the Commons. In 1703, Penn removed to Knightsbridge, where he wrote two prefaces, one to a collection of the writings of Charles Marshall, called "Zion's Travellers comforted;" the other, "Vindiciæ Veritatis; or, An Occasional Defence of the Principles

and Practice of the People called Quakers; in Answer to a Treatise by John Stillingfleet, a Clergyman in Lincolnshire, miscalled Seasonable Advice against Quakerism."

In the meanwhile, the information which Penn received from his province was very disheartening to him. The Lieutenant-Governor, Hamilton, could not control the conflicting elements of popular will and discordant interests, and he outraged the feelings of the Quakers by attempting to organize a militia. The territories, which had not accepted, nor had their share in ratifying, the new constitution, seceded from the joint government, and the province wished to avail itself of the contingency provided for in the charter, by increasing the number of representatives through the choice of four new members from each county, and of two from the city of Philadelphia. Governor Hamilton acceded to the measure; but, before it could be carried into effect, he died, in February, 1703. Edward Shippen, as president of the Council, filled his place till the wishes of Penn should be known. But he at once found himself involved in a heated quarrel with the Assembly, respecting its power of self-adournment.

The proprietor immediately sent over John Evans as his deputy. This was a bad choice. Evans, though devoted to the interest of Penn, was young, passionate, volatile, and withal loose in his private habits. He treated with levity the scruples of the Quakers, and seems to have thought that their principles, which had stood the fires of persecution, would yield to his dictation or buffoonery. He arrived in

February, 1704. He appears to have set his heart upon reuniting the province and territories, and he immediately attempted a reconciliation between their respective representatives. The members of the territories, with whose side of the controversy he implicated himself, were ready to accept the terms proposed by him; but the members of the province, probably persuaded from former experience that real and lasting harmony was impossible, refused again to assume the show of it. A final separation therefore took place, and the three lower counties, or the territories, henceforward had their own legislature, thus forming what afterwards became the independent State of Delaware. Governor Evans held an Assembly for the province at Philadelphia, and another for the territories at New Castle.

There came over with Governor Evans William Penn, Junior, the only surviving son of the proprietor by his first wife, and one of the many trials of the excellent father, perhaps that one of them all which came nearest to his heart. There are extant letters of the proprietor to James Logan, from which it appears that the son, then a man with a wife and children, had for some time thought of visiting Pennsylvania. These letters, written in confidence, disclose the faults and weaknesses of the young man to Logan, to whose care, though himself a young and single man, the son of the proprietor was intrusted. He came to see how he should like the place, intending to return and convey his family. Logan, warned of his propensities, was desired to win for him the favor of Friends, and to keep him constantly em-

ployed. The number of hounds which he brought with him will probably indicate the ruling motive, which led him to the forests of the New World. As might be supposed, he found the Society of Friends too tedious for him. He sometimes attended their religious meetings, but soon ceased to regard any form of worship, and, owing to some offence, which he took up against the Quakers, probably a resentment of their expostulation or advice, he broke his connection with the Society. In company with some young bachelors, he kept house in Philadelphia, and, amid the indulgences of free living, he did not escape the imputation of the grosser vices. Having been concerned with others in a drunken frolic and a street fray, young Penn was presented by the grand jury, in September, 1704, and convicted, though Governor Evans reversed the sentence. We may, however, infer, from the fact of his having friends and vindicators, that he stands charged with the utmost that his enemies or severe critics could allege against him. After selling his manor to pay his debts, he returned to England in disgust; and his father, though not justifying his folly, lamented some provocation to which he had been subjected.*

The unpopularity of Governor Evans increased with all his public acts, and by the habits of his private life. His repeated attempts to involve the people in military preparations, and other measures of his administration, led the Assembly to send to Penn a remonstrance against him. In 1705, Evans

* See Letters from Mrs. Logan's collection, quoted in "Watson's Annals of Philadelphia," Vol. I. pp. 112 and following.

informed the Assembly that the proprietor was displeased with this proceeding. A temporary harmony was restored, when two mischievous measures of Evans completely alienated from him the respect and confidence of the people. Determined to try the effect of a stratagem upon the pacific principles of the Quakers, the Governor, in conjunction with Thomas French and others, caused a deceptive message from New Castle to be sent to him at Philadelphia, on occasion of a fair, on the 16th of May, 1706, informing him that some armed vessels were coming up the river with a hostile intent. By a preconcerted arrangement, frightened emissaries sped through the streets, while Evans himself, riding about with a drawn sword, caused a terrible fright. James Logan was thought to be implicated in the trick. Amid the consternation which ensued, the loss of valuable property, and the dangers always attending such an alarm, only four Quakers appeared in arms. When the deception was discovered, the indignation of the people was intense.

The other outrage, committed by Evans, was the erection of a fort at New Castle, by connivance with some in the territories, and the demand of a toll from ships passing it, under the penalty of being fired upon. Some resolute Quakers in Philadelphia boldly subjected themselves in a vessel to this penalty, and, by a stratagem getting the commander of the fort in their power, put a stop to the imposition. A second remonstrance against Evans was sent to Penn in 1707.

When information of this distressing character

was conveyed to the proprietor in England, it found him involved in troubles of a most annoying and painful nature. With at least an equal zeal for the religious views which he so fondly loved, and so devotedly supported, as for the good administration of his province, he had written, in 1704, a preface to John Whithead's "Works," and had travelled as a minister, in 1705, in England. Penn was no economist; but kindness, not wastefulness, consumed his means. His estate in England and Ireland produced an income of fifteen hundred pounds. The purchase money of his province was nominally the debt due from the crown to his father, while the sale of the lots would apparently increase his means. To these sources of an annual revenue should have been added the quit-rents and the imposts, which ought to have yielded him some thousands a year. Of the two latter emoluments he was almost entirely defrauded. Now, among his expenses must be set down the untold sums which he had paid for the relief of hundreds of his religious friends in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as upon the continents of Europe and America; the cost of his public agencies and his court interests; the charges attending the emigration and settlement of both poor and rich in the Jerseys and in his own patent; his share in the burdens of government and in improvements; and, lastly, the maintenance of his deputies almost entirely from his own purse. Penn himself says, "I spent upon the colony ten thousand pounds the first two years. My deputy-governors cost me much, and vast sums I have melted away here in London, to hinder

much mischief against us, if not to do us much good." *

Philip Ford, a Quaker and merchant of London, had been for several years Penn's general agent there. Through his mismanagement and dishonesty, followed up by his heirs, the proprietor of Pennsylvania, who had been an inmate of prisons for conscience' sake, became now a prisoner for debt. In his complicated business concerns, which were embarrassed by the faults of others, Penn had, with the fullest confidence, signed a deed of sale of his province to Ford, and took for him a lease for three years. Afterwards, Ford, having paid sixteen thousand pounds, and having received seventeen thousand pounds, demanded of Penn, for compound interest and commissions, a balance of ten thousand five hundred pounds, while it would appear that less than two thousand pounds were due him. On the death of Ford, his son and widow, although bed-ridden, exacted the whole amount claimed, and arrested Penn at a meeting in January, 1708. To avoid their extortion, and to be in a situation to make the best terms for himself, Penn put himself within the limits of the Fleet Prison, where he made himself as comfortable as a good conscience, generous living, and the kind visits of Friends would allow. The Fords petitioned Queen Anne to put them in possession of Pennsylvania, but without success, while they offered to sell it to Isaac Norris for eight thousand pounds. When the case came before chancery, Penn,

* Letter of Penn to his steward, J. Harrison, at Pennsbury, in Watson, Vol. I. p. 108.

though evidently wronged, lost it, and his freedom was secured by subscriptions and loans among his friends.*

Constant perplexities annoyed Penn at this time, and frustrated all his intentions. The troubles in his own distant province, multiplying with each message which brought them, gave him no peace, except that which he found in his own breast. What grounds there may have been for the strong, and continued, and fretting resistance against his government and plans, it might be difficult now to decide. Nor should our honorable and deserved estimation of William Penn lead us to imagine that there were no such grounds. He was the feudal head of a democracy, and this was a combination of heterogeneous elements, which could promise but little harmony in their workings. He had given the people so much liberty, that they thought one lawful mode of exercising it was to strip him of the little authority which he had reserved to himself. Had he been in their midst, his personal weight, his manifest devotion to their good, and the implication of his interest with their own, would doubtless have secured a more felicitous result to himself personally. But the delegation of his authority to deputies, not always most wisely chosen, his own separation, and the difficulties attending the exercise of his power across the water, the collision of parties, and the novelty of self-government; these and other causes embarrassed his prospects and defeated some of his designs. The leaders of the opposing party in the colony were

* Watson, Vol. I. p. 108.

David Lodge, Colonel Quarry,* of the customs, and John Moore. Their opposition showed itself in three ways; in refusing a pecuniary support to Penn and his deputies; in embarrassing the courts about oaths or affirmations; and in writing to England such high-wrought accounts of the undefended and mismanaged condition of the colony, as to have originated and prolonged the design of putting the government directly under the crown.

The second remonstrance against Evans, which had been sent to England, together with the information brought to Penn by Isaac Norris and others, induced him, after candidly weighing the views and measures of both parties, to recall Evans in 1708, and to send Charles Gookin as his deputy.† He then mortgaged his province to some Friends, for six thousand, six hundred pounds. Thus temporarily relieved, he devoted himself again to another ministerial tour, and published an introduction to the works of his eminent friend, Bulstrode Whitelocke.

Governor Gookin, arriving in March, 1709, found the Assembly in session, and, much to his offence, was anticipated in the business which he would have proposed, by an address that entered at length into

* Two memorials of Colonel Quarry against the government of Pennsylvania, addressed to the Lords Commissioners for Trade, with Penn's answers, are in "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. II. Pt. 2, pp. 191, 206.

† In a letter to James Logan, written a few months after he had sent Governor Gookin, Penn says, "Make the most of him to friends and service. He had hints enough to follow theirs and thine, and was let into every secret of your affairs that occurred to me at his going. Give him measures of persons and things." "Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. pp. 208, 209.

old grievances, and suggested a prosecution of Evans before he left the country.

In June, Gookin summoned the Assembly again, and, in aid of the expedition designed by Queen Anne against Newfoundland and Canada, asked for one hundred and fifty soldiers, with officers and outfit, or for an equivalent in four thousand pounds. The Assembly refused both proposals, but offered to make a present to the Queen of five hundred pounds. The Governor, greatly displeased, adjourned the Assembly till August. At that time he renewed his demand, and the Assembly offered to add three hundred pounds more to their grant to the Queen, and to give the Governor two hundred pounds besides. This was also unsatisfactory. In the collisions which attended this strife, James Logan, an honest and influential Quaker, but who doubtless improved, as he advanced in life, in some qualities of temper and judgment, was impeached by the Assembly, arrested, and sentenced to punishment. The Assembly would not grant any money, unless the Governor would ratify the bills, which it had enacted. The same discord prevailed in the next session, as Gookin would not allow a bill to pass without the approbation of the Council, and of course the Assembly issued another remonstrance. Logan went to England, in 1710, bearing to Penn, who, for the best reasons, reposed all confidence in him, a full statement of the contentions in the Quaker province. It ought, however, to be admitted, that while any other than a Quaker province would have been liable, under like circumstances, to equal disturbance, none

but a Quaker province could have peacefully endured and flourished amid such strife. For it is a remarkable fact, that this discord in the government was accompanied by a steadily increasing and fair prosperity at large.

The representation made by Logan drew from Penn an expostulatory letter, addressed to the Assembly, dated London, June 29th, 1710. This beautiful and affecting document, written with all the magnanimity and forbearance of the author, contains a brief review of his connection with the colony, his plans, sacrifices, disappointments, and grievances, while it earnestly, but gently, administers censure, and affectionately appeals to all the better feelings of those to whom it was addressed.* This letter produced a great and good effect, as it could scarcely fail to do. It melted the hearts of all who could feel for the virtues and misfortunes of their most devoted and disinterested friend. The next Assembly, composed entirely of new members, who had not been soured or heated by previous animosities, met and proceeded in much harmony.

In 1711, Gookin renewed the incessant request for military aid or money. The Assembly regretted to refuse, but consented to raise a tax of two thousand pounds for a present to the Queen. There was far from being entire harmony, for matters of controversy continually presented themselves.

And now the blessing of health, which, next to his faith and a good conscience, William Penn valued most, and had longest enjoyed, began to fail him.

* Given by Proud, Clarkson, Hazard, and others.

Cares and reverses may have worn upon his good constitution; and when his good constitution began to yield to human infirmities, before the period of old age, mind and body shared equally in the decline. In 1710, he fixed his residence, for the remainder of his life, at Rushcombe. He was constant in his attendance at religious meetings; he continued his large correspondence, made occasional visits to London, and, in 1711, dictated a preface to the works of John Banks.

In 1712, Penn resolved to sell his proprietary rights to the crown, and asked therefor twenty thousand pounds. Queen Anne referred him to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. His purpose to sell seems to have been suggested by the crown's previous intention to purchase. James Logan began to correspond with him upon the subject as early as 1701, and Penn seems then to have entertained the idea, though reluctantly, and to have comforted himself with the thought, that though he disposed of his proprietary rights, he should still leave to his children, for inheritance, a domain and a burial-place in Pennsylvania. In 1712, he had completed arrangements for the transfer, for which he was to be paid twelve thousand pounds, and had already received a partial payment, when a stroke of apoplexy, from which he never wholly recovered, caused a failure of his mental faculties; and the business was never completed, though afterwards attempted by him. His wife was informed, in 1713, that her husband "might have long since finished it, had he not insisted too much on gaining privileges

for the people." It was with deep sorrow that the honored and faithful man thus sought a refuge from his perplexities in a measure, which wrecked at least one darling hope of his life.

He wrote to some Friends in Pennsylvania, on the 24th of July, 1712, that he was about concluding his transfer to government. He says, "But I have taken effectual care, that all the laws and privileges I have granted to you shall be observed by the Queen's Governors, &c., and that we, who are Friends, shall be in a more particular manner regarded and treated by the Queen. And you will find all the charters and proprietary governments annexed to the crown by Act of Parliament next winter. I purpose to see you if God give me life this fall; but I grow old and infirm, yet would gladly see you once more before I die, and my young sons and daughter also settled upon good tracts of land." &c.*

Three successive apoplectic attacks undermined the strong constitution of William Penn. His powers of motion, and his memory and mind, failed him. Amid the comforts of his home at Rushcombe, with the assiduous care of his wife, and cheered by occasional visits of public friends, he passed the remainder of his days. His last love showed itself in his attendance at religious meetings; and when he could no longer speak the names of those with whom he had shared such pleasures, he could remember their countenances, and feel the comfort which they spoke. Intervals of partial restoration, during six years, re-

* "Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. pp. 210, 211.

lieved him. Up to the year 1715, he attended meetings at Reading, and in 1717 could walk about his grounds in pleasant weather. But, steadily approaching the hour of his relief,^s enjoying unbroken serenity of mind in every moment of consciousness, he expired on the 30th of July, 1718, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

A great concourse attended his funeral, and a noble and affecting testimony was borne to his honored life. He was interred at Jordan's in Buckinghamshire, where his former wife and several of his family were buried, on the 5th of August, 1718.

CHAPTER XIII

Respect borne to the Character of William Penn.—The Aspersions cast upon him after his Death by various Writers considered.—Burnet.—The State Papers of Nairne.—Lord Littleton. — Franklin. — Grahame. — General Estimate of Penn's Character.—His Virtues and Services.—His private Life and Habits.—Prosperity of the Colony.—The Descendants of Penn.

THE protracted seclusion and decline, which preceded the decease of William Penn, were cheered by the many earnest inquiries and respectful sympathies of a multitude of friends. The large concourse at his funeral bore the testimony of some of all sects to his singular liberality as a Christian, and his perfect consistency as a Friend. His wife attended to many of his business concerns, and, after his death, held frequent correspondence with the functionaries in Pennsylvania. Indeed, as will appear, she administered and governed the province for her children during their minority.

But detraction did not leave the last years of Penn unassailed, nor has it wholly spared his memory. A disowned Quaker minister circulated a report, that he died of madness like to that of Nebuchadnezzar; but the idle tale was promptly refuted. As to the imputations which have been cast upon his public career, including the calumnies of enemies and the

misapprehensions and prejudices of those who undesignedly misjudged him, but a few words of reply will be thought necessary. The absurd charge of his being a Jesuit or a Papist has been already noticed.

The phenomena of Penn's public career are so remarkable, that it would have been a miracle had he escaped calumny and censure. That he should have been a Quaker, was a marvel, which almost stupefied those who otherwise would have been his intimate friends. That, being a Quaker, and amenable to the scorn and persecution visited on that sect, he should have shared the highest favor of the court, and been served by ambitious and intriguing statesmen, was another marvel, which few took the pains to explain consistently with his integrity. Now, it may fairly be submitted whether his undeniable virtues do not offer the most reasonable and satisfactory explanation of both those marvels. Conscience made him a Quaker, and conscience was never sacrificed in any advantage which he obtained for himself or for others. His profession brought upon him penalties enough. It would have been hard if he could not avail himself of the immunities attendant upon that profession. He suffered in behalf of the great principle of religious liberty; was he to refuse to enjoy its blessings, because the Catholics shared them with him, or because the great charter of the soul was confirmed only by an arbitrary act of a monarch and still needed to be legalized by a Parliament? *

* I have not thought the calumny of Chalmers worthy of a place in the text, or that a refutation of it is called for even in

Bishop Burnet, in his "History of his Own Time," has given currency and permanence to the charges against Penn, based upon his furtherance of some of the measures of James the Second. These charges have been sufficiently noticed in the preceding pages. It may now be left to the admirers of Burnet to explain or justify an act of great meanness on his part. His last mention of Penn is under date 1690, when Penn was embraced in a proclamation with others under a false imputation, and is said by the Bishop to have "absconded." This last word we know to be inapplicable to Penn's retirement from public gaze, though not from the reach of justice, should it have sought him. But Burnet brought down his History to the year 1713, and in the interval between 1690 and that date, Penn, as he well knew, was honorably acquitted, and restored to his government, and actually discharged it in Pennsylvania, enjoyed the personal esteem of Queen Anne, travelled largely as a minister, mingled on equal terms with the nobles and dignitaries of the realm, and was sinking under the providential stroke which brought him to the grave. Burnet also knew that the lying impostor Fuller, whose false oath had raised suspicion against Penn, had been brought to a fine and to scorn, to the house of correction and the pillory. Why, then, should Bishop Burnet forget

a note. His coarse assault upon Penn is thus expressed: "In the meantime, the renowned William Penn, the head of a considerable party, a man of great depth of understanding, attended by equal dissimulation, of extreme interestedness, accompanied with insatiable ambition, and of an address in proportion to all these, engaged in colonization." Chalmers's "Political Annals," p. 635.

twenty-three years of his "Own Time," with all their honorable testimony to Penn, that he might leave on the page of his History, as the last word connected with that honored man, the charge that he "absconded"?

The charges against Penn, found in the State Papers of Nairne, appear to involve him in two treasonable attempts to restore the Stuarts to the English throne. The charges rest upon the verbal statements of spies and informers, and upon doubtful interpretations of letters written in ciphers. They relate to two periods, namely, December, 1693, and the year 1713. They are decisively set aside by facts. As to the former period, that was the very time at which Penn proved his entire innocence of all such charges before the King and Council. As to the latter period, so far was Penn from being then in a condition to plot as a traitor, that the crown lawyers pronounced him to be incapable, through mental infirmity, of selling a piece of property.

Lord Littleton, in his "Dialogues of the Dead," has introduced into that between Cortez and Penn intimations that pecuniary profit and ambition were the motives, which interested the latter in an American province. It is a pity that the noble writer could not have introduced a balance sheet from Penn's accounts, showing how many thousand pounds his speculation cost him, and also some extracts from the debates of the Pennsylvania Council and Assembly, which would prove that Penn's ambition took a singular turn when he allowed a feudal government, of which he was the lord, to become in his hands a

pure democracy, which denied him even his honest debts. It would be well if pecuniary speculation and ambition would always admit so much of the moral element, as they found in the noble sacrifices of William Penn.

It is singular that the meanest and most dishonorable aspersions cast on Penn should have come from his own province, sanctioned by one of the most renowned of the citizens of the New World. These aspersions are found in the "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, from its Origin," written in 1759. Although Dr. Franklin was not the author of that volume, he was the responsible voucher of those imputations of worldliness, self-seeking, and exorbitancy against Penn which are found in it.* The only shadow of proof alleged for them is offered in Penn's reiterated demand for the quit-rents, which were a portion of the purchase money of all the land sold by him. He never had a more honest due than these. It was to the disgrace of his province that they were not paid. Even the attempt of the Assembly to turn them to the support of the government was an acknowledgment of the debt. By all allowances of morality and law, Penn would have been justified in depriving all the discontents of their estates, to which they had lost a legal title by breach of contract. But he did not avail himself of that extreme power. He took the other extreme, by bearing the insult and the in-

* See a letter from Dr. Franklin to David Hume, in which the former denies the authorship of the "Historical Review," and Mr. Sparks's note upon it. Sparks's "Franklin," Vol. VII. p. 208.

jury with noble magnanimity. This political review was written for a partisan purpose. The object of the author was to heap obloquy upon the proprietary family, to make out a case which should involve the successive owners of the province in the common charge of mercenary exaction, and to help the early stages of the Revolution in the American colonies under real wrongs, by showing that their connection with England had always caused them trouble. Franklin, or whoever he aided in the work, wished to make a complete argument; and so the first of the Penn name came in for his share of the discredit, which was to be visited on the family. Under other circumstances, few men would have surpassed Franklin in exhibiting the character of the first Governor in all the harmony of its distinctions and virtues.

The last writer deserving notice on this subject is the late excellent James Grahame, author of an admirable "History of the United States." This writer has indeed spoken in exalted language of the Quaker legislator. After speaking of the early religious choice of Penn, he adds, "It would not be easy to figure a more interesting career than is exhibited in the greater portion of his subsequent life. Everywhere, from the courts of German princes to the encampments of Indian savages, we find him overcoming evil by good, and disarming human violence and ferocity by gentleness, patience, and piety. A mind so contemplative, and a life so active; such a mixture of mildness and resolution, of patience and energy, of industry and genius, of lofty piety and

profound sagacity, have rarely been exemplified in the records of human character." More of the same noble praise is freely accorded by the pure and high-minded Grahame. But he feels compelled to shade it afterwards. While the Scotch Presbyterian judges according to his sincere and rigid faith of the tenets of Quakerism, he also shares some of that feeling which challenged Penn in his lifetime for his influence with King James, and for his mode of acceding to the measures of that monarch.

Grahame was moved to qualify "the unmixed and unmerited encomium which Penn's character and labors have received," and then proceeds to reflect upon him for cultivating the friendship of a tyrant; for improving the exercise of arbitrary power to his own private ends, in opposition to the rights of others; for asking favors from hands imbrued with the blood of his friends; and for being an actual abettor on the wrong side in various issues of his time.* That there was ground for all these imputations the preceding pages will show. But that this ground is just, and will sustain these charges fairly and fully,

*Grahame's "History of the United States." London edition, Vol. II. pp. 313-319.

Even Gordon, in his "History of Pennsylvania," has reiterated, though in somewhat softened terms, the more common imputations upon Penn's sincerity and worth, laying the chief stress upon his alleged ambition, worldliness, love of court pleasures, and distaste for a quiet life. See Gordon, pp. 71, 83-88, and 176.

For a satisfactory refutation of the mistakes and reflections most discreditable to Penn, the reader is referred to "An Examination of the various Charges brought by Historians against William Penn, both as a Man, and as a political Governor, by J. R. Tyson," in "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. II. Pt. II. pp. 127-157.

the reader of these pages will hardly decide in the affirmative. The decision is left to him. It is enough to add of them here, that they are utterly inconsistent with the praise which Grahame has so honorably ascribed to Penn. Such contrarieties of character, as would deserve both the praise and the censure, were never yet found in a human being.

To set against the above mentioned aspersions upon William Penn the encomiums which his singular excellence and his career would justify, would be a pleasing work. But when a man's life and labors speak his praise, words may be spared, and epithets are only dross, which do not make a part of the precious metal of virtue. The single fault, which appears most prominent in his character, is that of a lavish improvidence in managing his pecuniary affairs. He bestowed gifts when he was compelled to borrow the means. He remitted his own honest dues when his creditors or his dependents pressed their claims. He intrusted to a cunning and deceitful steward the control of matters, which he ought to have kept in his own hands. Had he waited less upon the court for the benefit of others, his own interests would not have suffered so much. He risked bankruptcy for the sake of liberality.

Penn was far from being insensible of the great sacrifices of social and personal considerations which he had made by identifying himself with the Quakers. He might have been a peer of the realm. That honor was indeed intended for his family; but he yielded not only that prospect, but also the actual

dignity of his standing in the artificial scale of social rank. There are frequent passages in his letters and other writings, showing how the spirit of the Christian Friend got the better of the pride of the English gentleman.

The solid claims which may be advanced in behalf of Penn, as one of the few of the eminent and pure, one of the very few of the innocently great of this earth, rest upon the substantial foundations of virtue and wisdom, which are appreciated throughout the world. He pursued exalted aims, drawn from the most advanced attainments of the age in which he lived, and anticipating the light of an after-time. Three great principles controlled his mind and cheered his heart: reverence for God, love for man, and confidence in freedom. If, in the judgment of worldly minded and politic statesmen, Penn's theory of government is distrusted, or thought inefficient, it is because of the predominance in it of the moral element, both as the end and the means. He made schools of industry out of his prisons; and when English law visited death upon many petty offences, he confined the penalty to wilful and deliberate murder, allowing it in this case only because he understood the law of God as requiring it. His intense interest in the Indians, which led him even to dance at one of their festivals, and his scrupulous justice toward them, which made their pagan hearts revere him, form the most pleasing narrative in the whole history of the intercourse between the savages and the whites. His early care for the negro slaves led him to suggest a measure in

their behalf which would have insured the entire abolition of slavery.

Penn excelled in the best of human qualities. He was free from vice. His natural powers were of a high order; his acquired advantages were large and various, embracing bodily strength, learning, wisdom, and discretion, as the furniture of his mind, with the richest and most attractive graces of the heart. As a writer, he used few images, but employed a wide compass of language. He makes constant references to the Scriptures, but always quotes them in their natural sense, with no forced applications. The titles of all his known publications have been given in the preceding pages, under their respective dates.

They who conceive of Penn as a sanctimonious and rigid zealot, with a stiffened countenance, a formal garb, and a frowning look cast upon the innocent pleasures and good things of life, would go wide of the truth. He was quite a gentleman in his dress and manner of life, in his furniture and equipage. He loved manly sports; he could hunt and angle. Dean Swift says, that "he talked very agreeably and with great spirit." Another contemporary testimony, that which the Friends at Reading Meeting (where he attended most in his last years) bore to him after his death, says, "he was facetious in conversation." We learn from other sources that he loved a good joke, and knew how to make one. An instance has already been given of his common habit, in his correspondence, of avoiding *thee* and *thou* by circumlocutions, when he thought it would be disagreeable and offensive.

Penn wore buckles and wigs; he had silk, damask, and silver ornaments in his household; he kept a rich coach and a stately barge, a calash and saddle horses, and used some measure of pomp and ceremony in his acts of government. He had a fine mansion at Pennsbury, and a manor at Springett-bury, with rich gardens, and stock of high breeds. He does frequently censure the luxurious cookery of his time; but his cash books afford existing evidence that his portly frame had not been fed on air and water alone. System, and method, and good order presided over the domestic arrangements of Penn, and thrice in every day the household were called together for religious exercises. Cheerfulness and sincerity characterized the piety of William Penn.* On the first General Meeting of Friends, held after the news of his decease, in Philadelphia, on the 16th of March, 1719, "a testimony of Friends in Pennsylvania, concerning their deceased friend and Governor, William Penn," was given forth, bearing fifty signatures. It expresses his virtues in those calm and measured phrases, which distinguish the best of such documents.†

* See "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. III. Pt. II. pp. 67-104, for "A Discourse on the private Life and domestic Habits of William Penn, by J. Francis Fisher." This is a most choice and delightful specimen of a kind of writing, which we desire above all other kinds as the memorial of distinguished men. Mr. Fisher has most profitably used materials, which his diligent labors acquired.

In the same volume, pp. 213-231, is "A Memoir of Part of the Life of William Penn, by Mr. Lawton," which is devoted exclusively to exhibiting Penn's honest use of his court influence.

† See "The Friends' Library," Vol. V. pp. 327, 328. Philadelphia, 1841. There is no proof of Bancroft's assertion, ("His-

In spite of its frequent political jars and bickerings, the province of Pennsylvania was, at the time of its founder's death, a monument to his wisdom and benevolence. It numbered then a population of sixty thousand, and Philadelphia alone contained fourteen hundred houses. The province continued to be owned and governed by the Penn family until the War of the Revolution. It is a somewhat remarkable fact, that William Penn should not have had a single descendant who embraced his own religious views. Were it worth the while to enter into any inquiries or speculations upon this point, perhaps it would not be difficult to offer some reasonable explanation of the fact, founded upon the known characteristics of human nature. But, waiving such an inquiry, it is enough for us to know, that it was not for the want of consistency or attractiveness in the religious character of the father, that his children deserted the Society for which he had labored with such earnest devotion. It is enough to know, that he was faithful to it, and happy in it, to the end.

The children of William Penn by his first marriage were five, and by his second marriage six. Of the first family, Mary and Hannah died in infancy. The amiable and virtuous Springett, the eldest child, and the pride of his father, died, as before stated, in 1696, at the age of twenty. Lætitia married William Aubrey, and died childless. The visit of Wil-

tory of the United States," Vol. II. p. 403,) that Penn lived and died a holder of slaves. The utmost that can be shown, by the evidence of documents and Penn's cash books, is, that he hired a few, the slaves of others.

liam Penn, Jun., to Pennsylvania, with its disagreeable consequences, has been already noticed. He was an inexpressible grief to his father. After his return to England, he continued to run the riot of dissipation, with its attendant sins. He joined the Episcopal communion, and endeavored in vain to obtain a place in the army and the navy, and a seat in Parliament. He undertook, in opposition to his father's will, which made his stepmother executrix, to assume the government of Pennsylvania. At last, leaving his wife and children to be maintained at the family seat at Rushcombe, he went to France, to avoid his creditors, and died there in 1720. His son, Springett Penn, the grandson of William Penn, and the last male issue of his first wife, died in London, in 1767.

Of the children of Penn's second marriage, Hannah and Dennis died in infancy, and John, Thomas, Margaret, and Richard survived him. John, the only one of the family born in America, was never married. He was brought up as a linen merchant, in Bristol, England. He made a visit to Pennsylvania, in 1734, and, as a Churchman, gave a service of plate to the church in Lewistown. His sister, Mrs. Margaret Fræme, came with him; and, as Thomas Penn had come two years before, all of the second family, except Richard, were in the country at one time.

A daughter of Thomas Penn married Archbishop Stuart, of Armagh, primate of Ireland; so strange are the alterations of principle and preference, even in those of the same blood.

John, the son of Richard Penn, was made Governor of Pennsylvania, in 1763, on behalf of his father and his uncle Thomas; his uncle John being then dead. He continued to be Governor until the War of the Revolution. He died, and was buried in Bucks county, in 1795; but his remains were afterwards disinterred, and carried to England. Not one of the Penn family has a grave on this side of the ocean.

John Penn, the eldest son of Thomas, (who was the second son by the second marriage of the Quaker,) was a man of some distinction in literature. His mother was a daughter of the Earl of Pomfret, and he was greatly and worthily interested in his ancestral colony before, and during, and after, the Revolution. In 1790, Parliament granted to the family an annuity of four thousand pounds, on account of their loss by the war. This John Penn visited Pennsylvania after the Revolution, and died at an advanced age, at Stoke Park, Bucks, England, in 1834. His brother, Granville Penn, inherited the English estate, and wrote the life of the Admiral, which has been referred to in these pages.

By the will of the founder of Pennsylvania, made before he had agreed upon the terms of its sale to the crown, he left to his son William his English and Irish estates, and to his other children and widow all his American rights and possessions. These proprietors, as we have seen, made visits and transient abodes here; but the chief interest, which the family of Penn will ever have with Americans, gathers around the single character and the eminent virtues of the Quaker son of an English Admiral.

LIFE OF
JAMES OGLETHORPE

THE
FOUNDER OF GEORGIA

BY
WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY

PREFACE

THE materials for a Life of Oglethorpe, so far as they relate to the events which have chiefly contributed to his renown, the establishment and colonization of Georgia, are abundant and authentic. Numerous tracts, containing official documents, letters, and journals, were printed at the time, the original editions of some of which have been consulted in preparing the following memoir. A collection of these tracts has likewise recently been republished by the Georgia Historical Society, in two volumes, with contributions from some of its members, forming together not only an honorable tribute to the memory of the founder of Georgia, but a rich treasure of facts illustrative of the early history of that State, which, though the last of the old Thirteen that was erected into a body politic, has by no means been the least conspicuous among them in the support it has yielded to the fabric of American Independence and Union.

The Life of Oglethorpe, by the Reverend Dr. Harris, claims high respect and confidence, not more on account of the author's well-known fidelity and habits of research, than of his clear and judicious

method. If any reader's curiosity should be prompted, by this brief sketch, to extend his inquiries further, particularly on points of historical interest, he will find it amply gratified by the perusal of the more copious and elaborate pages of that work.

JAMES OGLETHORPE

CHAPTER I

Time of Oglethorpe's Birth.—His early military Service.—Connection with Prince Eugene.—Siege of Belgrade.—Member of Parliament.—Abuses of Prisons.—His Parliamentary Services.

“ One, driven by strong benevolence of soul,
Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole.”

THESE were two of those pointed lines with which Pope would embalm the memory of those whom he delighted to honor. Some of them would soon have passed into forgetfulness without his commemoration; but not so with the subject of this memoir. While living, he was greatly venerated for his generous and philanthropic spirit; and, since his death, his fame has been growing as fast as men have learned to honor those who serve and bless them above the men who injure and destroy. Under the dictation of that religion, which makes usefulness the measure of greatness, those who manifest the same energy in benevolent enterprises, which others display in works of blood, are rising in estimation,

inspiring enthusiasm unknown to former ages; and the time will come when all rivals will leave to them the field of glory as rightfully their own.

General Oglethorpe was, in some respects, advantageously distinguished from common philanthropists; they are too apt, as we often have occasion to see, to fix their whole attention on a single object, never looking at it in its relation to others, and, therefore, exaggerating it out of its true place and proportion; contending with one great social evil as if there was no other in the world, and expressing impatience and contempt for all whose sympathies do not go with them. It may have been, in part, his practical education which saved him from this common error. Such a tendency would also have been counteracted in him by his natural largeness of heart. Certain it is, that he was open as day to every claim of charity, and ready to cheer others onward in every attempt to improve the condition and character of their fellowmen. He kept himself free from that stain of selfish ambition by which philanthropy is sometimes dishonored; which deprives it of all the beauty of holiness, and destroys more than half its power.

JAMES OGLETHORPE was the son of Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, of Godalming, in the county of Surrey, England. His mother was Eleanor, daughter of Richard Wall, of Rogane, Ireland. The time of his birth was, for some years, a matter of debate. When he died, some of the public prints stated that he was one hundred and two years of age; others made him still older. But Mr. Sparks, in 1840, ex-

amined the register of baptisms in the vestry of St. James, Westminster, where it appeared that he was baptized on the 2d of June, 1689; and in the same register it is stated, that he was born on the 1st of that month. Dr. Harris, however, produces the record of his admission to college, dated July, 1704, in which he is represented as then sixteen years old. The only way of reconciling these conflicting accounts, is, to suppose, with Dr. Harris, that there is an error in the record, as to the day of his birth, and that he was born in 1688, probably in December; since we learn that his birthday was celebrated on the 21st of that month, in Georgia; and that his baptism was deferred, on account of the season, to the summer of the succeeding year. He died in 1785, and, as he had for years been a sort of wonder, on account of his vigor and fine appearance, it is not strange that his age should have been overstated. Hannah More speaks of meeting him, when he was much more than ninety years of age, in the social and literary circles of London, where he showed the same taste, enjoyment, and power of conversation, as in former days. This was sufficiently marvellous; and what more natural than to speak of one, as a hundred years old, who had so nearly finished his century?

He was admitted a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; but it seems that the passion for activity and enterprise prevailed in the family; for two of his brothers left a literary to engage in the martial profession, and he was not slow to follow their example. His first appointment was that of ensign.

His commission is dated in 1710, and he held that rank till peace was proclaimed, in 1713. After this he appears to have been in the suite of the Earl of Peterborough, ambassador to Sicily and other Italian States, to which he travelled in company with the celebrated Berkeley. It is not easy to trace the influences which determine what any life shall be; but such was the profound impression which that heavenly man made on all who approached him, such was his genius, his humility, and his love for the souls of men, that we can easily imagine a heart like Oglethorpe's, naturally generous, and still unworn and tender, receiving a direction towards benevolence which no time could wear away.

In the succeeding year, he was connected with the Queen's Guards. At that time, he appears to have made a favorable impression on the Duke of Marlborough by his personal beauty and grace, and still more by his courage and manly bearing. By him and the Duke of Argyle he was recommended to Prince Eugene, who received him into his service as secretary and aide-de-camp, an office which brought him near the person of that great military chief. This high place was not without its inspiration, and he appears to have made good use of the advantages it afforded to establish his character by many acts of gallantry and skill, and also to acquire that familiar knowledge of tactics and discipline, which was of essential service to him in later days. Nothing could be more brilliant than the campaigns against the Turks, in which he bore a part. He gained the praise of his illustrious general, which

was never given lightly, and which, therefore, it was a high honor to secure and to deserve.

In the next year, though they had suffered severely, the Turks determined to renew the war. The forces of Prince Eugene were again in motion, and a blow was struck at the very heart of their power, by the siege of Belgrade. The Turks came to its relief, and besieged him in his camp; but while he was almost given over as lost, he made a sally, fell suddenly on the enemy, defeated them with great slaughter, and took their cannon, baggage, and military stores, after which Belgrade at once surrendered. On the 16th of August, 1717, the capitulation was signed; the Imperialists took possession of a gate and out-works, and on the 22d the Turks quitted the city. This was the closing scene of that bloody and disastrous war. Oglethorpe was in active command at the siege and the battle, and, as contemporary authorities declare, conducted in such a manner as to gain a large measure of renown.

But there was no further demand for his services in that quarter; peace was made between the Emperor and the Sultan, and the armies on both sides were withdrawn. He was offered rank and station in the German service; but when it no longer presented an opportunity of active duty and improvement, it had lost also its former attraction. He therefore returned to England, and, in the year 1722, succeeded his brother Lewis in the estate at Godalming, he having been mortally wounded in the battle of Schellenberg, several years before.

This military history of Oglethorpe was the early

romance of his life. It was not till this was over that its useful reality began. His character, which was already high, and the influence of his family, enabled him to secure a place in Parliament, as member for Hazlemere; a place which he held, by successive elections, for the long term of thirty-two years. His great ambition was to be useful. To the praise of eloquence he never aspired, though he at all times expressed his opinions with fluency, manliness, and strength. He never could consent to be the slave of any party; and when the cause of humanity required an advocate, he always stepped forward as its active and faithful friend. His first recorded speech was against the banishment of the famous Atterbury; a measure which he considered hasty and needlessly severe.

It was not long after this, that he commenced that series of labors in the cause of humanity which have given so much lustre to his name. He happened, on one occasion, to visit Sir William Rich, then confined for debt in the Fleet Prison, and was astonished to find him loaded with chains, deprived of the necessities of life, and treated in all respects like a malefactor. Disgusted with this inhumanity, and with the system which intrusted such power to unworthy hands, he determined to expose and prevent such abuses, and, for that purpose, he brought forward a motion in Parliament to inquire into the condition of all the prisons in the city; a difficult attempt, since the few, who are interested to suppress investigation, can always secure the sympathy of the indifferent, and thus create a resistance, which courage and

energy are required to overcome. He knew that none would covet this thankless office, and that, if he presented the subject to Parliament, he must be the one to carry the undertaking through. He did not shrink from the duty; the motion prevailed, and, as a matter of course, he was appointed chairman of a committee assigned for the purpose. Together with his coadjutors, he was sternly faithful to the trust. The corrupt practices, and the base treatment of prisoners, which had been so common, were thoroughly investigated, and the offenders, to whom they were traced home, were prosecuted with the utmost rigor of the law.

It was no small thing for a man, standing in such a social position, to turn coldly away from the common walks of ambition to one which there are very few to tread, and where there is little prospect of gratitude or fame; but he had his reward in the success which attended his labors. The proceedings were made as public as possible, that they might serve as a general warning; and the effect of it was seen, for a time, in the improved condition of prisoners throughout the land. Nor was the tribute of applause withheld from efforts so conscientious and deserving. These labors were alluded to by Thomson, in his "Winter," in language which breathes the universal feeling.

"And here can I forget the generous band,
Who, touched with human woe, redressive searched
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail,
Where misery moans unpitied and unheard,
Where sickness pines, where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice?"

But Oglethorpe was not the man to be weary in well-doing, because he enjoyed the triumph of immediate success. He felt that the tendency to relapse, in such cases, would soon place all where it was before, unless a better system should be established, and a deeper sympathy with the unfortunate spread throughout the land. He was particularly touched with the sufferings of poor debtors, who, though they were often guilty of no crime but improvidence, and not always even of that, were thrown into prison without the prospect of release, and there treated as if they had been delivered over to the tormentors. The wretched condition of these persons weighed heavily on his heart; he studied out some way in which he might render them effectual and permanent aid, and this undoubtedly led him on to the original suggestion of that great enterprise, to which the best of his life was given, and which is now the foundation of his enviable renown.

In the common proceedings of Parliament he took an active and interested part, not submitting his conscience, however, to those common and absurd maxims which would make everyone a slave to party. He received no opinions at second-hand; he used his own mind for himself, and whatever measures he thought right he approved without the least regard to the satisfaction or displeasure of other men. In this he is an example for legislators, and it is encouraging to see, as we may, that he who evidently consults his conscience, however wayward and wrong-headed, at times, he may be, and whatever offence he may give to others, is sure to be honored at last.

In 1731, the King's speech was the subject of debate; and some members, of whom Oglethorpe was one, while they acquiesced in the vote of thanks, were unwilling to do anything implying confidence in the ministry, whose course they did not fully approve. Smollett says: "Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed that many other things related more immediately to the interest and honor of the nation than did the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction. He said, he wished to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been entirely razed and destroyed; that the nation had received full and complete satisfaction for the depredations committed by Spain; that more care was taken to discipline the militia, on whose valor the nation must chiefly depend in case of invasion; and that some regard had been shown to the oppressed Protestants of Germany. He expressed his satisfaction, however, to find that the English were not so closely united to the French as formerly, for he had observed, that, when two dogs were in a leash together, the stronger generally ran away with the other; and this, he feared, had been the case between France and Great Britain." *

This is given as a specimen of his manner of speaking; plain, direct, and manly, with entire indifference to rhetorical display, and using such illustrations as came to hand, however familiar they might be. But the expressions of concern for the

* Smollett's "History of England," Book II. Chap. 4. The speech may be seen in the "Parliamentary History," Vol. VIII. p. 875.

German Protestants were characteristic of his habitual feeling; he manifested an interest in those, who, from their political insignificance, were not likely to secure a place in the cold hearts of statesmen; and that it was not a flourish of eloquence intended for effect, was shown by the zeal with which he afterwards endeavored to serve these persons, and the warmth with which he welcomed them to a transatlantic home. It seemed to him, that an asylum abroad would be the fit resting-place, not only for poor debtors and persecuted sects, but for all who were destitute, disheartened, and cast down. Hope was to be found there, only where the depressing influences under which they had sunk could no longer reach them. In another country, men of ruined fortunes could begin the world anew, in sympathy with others, whose condition and prospects had been as dreary as their own, while they, who had been ground to the dust by the pressure of social institutions, or the unfeeling arm of power, could renew their strength, with none to make them afraid, and secure for their children those blessings of free moral existence which they had not been suffered to enjoy.

Another subject, which naturally associated itself with his great foreign enterprise, began to attract attention at this time. This was the manufacture of silk, which was first undertaken at Derby, in 1719, though similar attempts had been made without success before. John Lombe, an enterprising mechanic and draughtsman, travelled to Italy to procure models and information on the subject, and, after succeeding as well as the jealousy of the Italians would

allow, returned with two persons who were acquainted with the business, and set up his works at Derby, after having secured a patent, entitling him to all the profits of the manufacture for fourteen years. The Italians began to fear lest their trade should be injured by his operations; and, in order to prevent it, they sent over an artful woman, who gained over one of the two natives to their interest, and, through his instrumentality, administered a poison to Mr. Lombe, from the effect of which he died. Their plan did not succeed to their desire, for the works were carried on by his brother, and afterwards by his cousin, with more energy than before. When the term of years expired for which the patent was granted, Sir Thomas Lombe applied to Parliament for its renewal; but, instead of granting his petition, they offered him fourteen thousand pounds for a model and full disclosure of his invention, which, though cumbrous and elaborate, was a subject of wonder at the time, when all such things were new. Oglethorpe took a deep interest in the subject, sustaining the application of the proprietors with all his influence, and doubtless kept in view a field where such labor could be more profitably applied than in the unfriendly climate of England.

In the year 1707, a company had been formed in London for the purpose of lending money to the poor on small pledges, and to prosperous men on good security, with the general design of affording aid to the deserving. At first its capital was small; but, in 1730, it was incorporated by Act of Parliament, with a capital of six hundred thousand pounds. In the

autumn of the next year, two of the chief officers, the warehouse-keeper and the cashier, who was a member of Parliament, absconded together; and it was found that all the capital was gone, except about thirty thousand pounds, and that no one could tell how it had been wasted, nor how extensive the frauds had been. Application was immediately made to Parliament to interpose its power, in order to secure a complete investigation, since there was great reason to believe that the fraud had been committed in collusion with some persons who remained in England, but whom no private process of law was able to reach.

This was another of those cases in which Oglethorpe was most active, because it involved the rights and welfare of those who needed friends. He therefore sustained the application, and made a speech in favor of it, from which an extract is made, because it shows an acquaintance with the subject of money which was unusual at that day. "For my own part, Sir, I have always been for encouraging the design upon which this corporation was first established, and looked upon it as a provident act of charity to let necessitous persons have the opportunity of borrowing money on easier terms than they could have it elsewhere. *Money, like other things, is but a commodity*, and, in the way of dealing, the use of it is looked upon to be worth as much as people can get for it. If this corporation let persons in limited circumstances have the use of money at a cheaper rate than individuals, brokers, or money-lenders would be willing to do, it was certainly a beneficent act. If

they had demanded more than was elsewhere given, they would not have had applicants, and the design would not have proved good and useful. But the utility of it was apparent; and the better the design, and the more excellent the benefit, the more those persons deserve to be punished, who, by their frauds, have curtailed, if not wholly cut off, those sources of furnishing assistance to the industrious and enterprising, and disappointed the public of the benefit which might have accrued from an honest and faithful execution."

Another occasion, on which he exerted himself in Parliament, grew out of the famous Porteous mob, which, in all its minutest details, is familiar to the readers of the "Heart of Midlothian." This sudden outbreak of the populace of Edinburgh, lawless and criminal as it was, could hardly be tortured into a personal insult to Queen Caroline, the reigning sovereign, who nevertheless saw fit so to receive it; and in order to gratify her helpless passion for revenge, a bill was introduced into Parliament, to disable the principal magistrate of the city, at the time, from holding any office ever after, and to imprison him for a year. The city was to be punished by removing the gates and abolishing the town-guards; measures, which, though of little consequence in themselves, were bitter wounds to its pride. All this was so manifestly unreasonable and vindictive that the bill was vigorously resisted. The gallant Duke of Argyle opposed it in the House of Lords, from a feeling of patriotism, in stern language of contempt and censure; while his friend Oglethorpe, in the House

of Commons, took the same side from a sense of justice, declaring that there was no failure on the part of the magistrates to do their duty; they were overpowered by numbers, and, if the bill prevailed, it would be a punishment of misfortune, and not of guilt. By such opposition, the ministry were compelled to alter the penalty into a simple fine of two thousand pounds, to be levied on the city, for the benefit of Porteous's widow; and, even in that form, it was by the smallest possible majority that the bill was carried through at last. Two Scottish members were then attending an appeal in the House of Lords, though they earnestly requested leave of absence to be present at the discussion. If they had been in their places, the bill would have been lost.

CHAPTER II

Moravian Petition.—Organization of the Company for the Settlement of Georgia.—Disinterestedness of the Projectors.—Their Expectations.—Silk.—Causes which interfered with its Production.

ANOTHER of Oglethorpe's labors of love was undertaken in favor of the Moravians and other foreign Protestants. Persecuted at home, they looked for an asylum to America; but the new Colonies there were more or less martial in their spirit, owing to the wild character of their neighbors; and the conscience of the Moravians revolted at that military service, which all were expected to perform. A petition for their relief was presented to Parliament by General Oglethorpe, with a speech in its support. The desired Act was passed, and became a law. At a later period, another petition, of a similar kind, was presented, and on that occasion Oglethorpe, in an able speech, made the House acquainted with the social system, the church, the benevolent efforts, and the religious character of the Moravians, showing how important it was to encourage the emigration of such men to America. Thus sustained, the bill was passed without opposition, and he had the satisfaction of doing this act of justice and mercy to that long-suffering people.

The great enterprise which was destined to be the

labor of Oglethorpe's life was the while taking form in his mind. He regarded it as the chief blessing of the new colony, which he began to contemplate, that it would afford a refuge for all the oppressed, for the Protestants, who were suffering under the jealous persecution of their own governments, and for those persons at home, who had become so desperate in circumstances, that they could not rise and hope again without changing the scene and making trial of a different country. Besides this, he felt a deep interest in the Indians, not doubting that something might be done to civilize and save them, if they could be brought in contact with a community which did not turn toward them its own barbarous and heathen sides. He even anticipated some of the views of a later day with respect to temperance, and was determined to show that ardent spirits, which were everywhere elements of crime, disease, and death, were not necessities of life, as they were commonly regarded. The subject of slavery, too, could not disguise itself to his clear heart and penetrating mind. In 1731, he had been chosen a Director of the Royal African Company; the next year he was elected Deputy-Governor, in which office he became the friend and benefactor of a slave, a man of singular character and attainments, who was found, on inquiry, to have been a prince at home; and, by the efforts of Oglethorpe, he was soon restored to his country, where he found that his father was dead, his favorite wife had married again, and war and anarchy had desolated the land. The history of this unfortunate person, who is spoken of, in the prints of

the day, as "the man whom Mr. Oglethorpe released from slavery," threw light upon the vileness of the slave-trade, which then was little thought of except as a field for commercial adventure. Oglethorpe determined that the colony which he was to establish should not be the means of extending that traffic.

Besides these humane inducements to engage in the enterprise in question, there were patriotic considerations, which had much influence on his mind. The large vacant tract between Carolina and Florida was in danger of being seized by the Spaniards from the south, or the French from the Mississippi, who were very desirous to secure the advantage of some Atlantic harbors, and were not likely to be particular as to the means by which it was done. This danger, which was a serious one, recommended it to the government, as much as higher interests made it dear to him; it was accordingly supported by public authority, as soon as it was proposed, and with favor such as is not often shown to enterprises whose humanity is their only title to regard.

That the credit of originating this enterprise belongs to Oglethorpe would never have been questioned, but for a hasty assertion on the subject, first made by the Abbé Raynal, and repeated by others, without sufficient investigation. Grahame speaks of a bequest made by a wealthy citizen of London as the moving cause, which led to the search into the condition of imprisoned debtors, and afterwards to the attempt to secure them an asylum beyond the sea.* The amount of it was, that a rich and humane

* "History of the United States," Vol. III. p. 180.

citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to be applied to the release of insolvent debtors, and the government added nine thousand eight hundred and forty-three pounds and fifteen shillings to the citizen's bequest, with the understanding that those who were thus released should become emigrants to Georgia. But Dr. Harris, a man of patient and persevering research, who never followed a statement simply because it had been made and repeated, inquired into the history of this bequest. He ascertained that the only foundation for it was, that Edward Adderly had given, in his will, the sum of one hundred pounds in aid of the settlement in Georgia. So far from suggesting the enterprise, the bequest was not made till the settlement was two years old; and, instead of being the splendid and imposing charity, which it was represented to be, the grant by Parliament, mentioned above, was necessary to raise the amount to the sum of ten thousand pounds. What the Abbé Raynal says in reference to the execution of the plan is just. "General Oglethorpe, a man who had distinguished himself by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a plan."

This undertaking was far beyond the power and means of an individual. On that account, not because he was not ready to do and sacrifice everything, he sought the aid and influence of others in alliance with his own. A general interest was awakened, and twenty-one associates petitioned for an act

of incorporation, which was granted by letters-patent on the 9th of June, 1732, for the reason assigned, that many of his Majesty's subjects were in want of employment, reduced to distress, and would be glad of the opportunity to cultivate waste lands in America, where they might earn a subsistence for themselves, and aid to extend the trade, navigation, and wealth of England. Certain persons were appointed trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, the intended province being so called in honor of the King, who, as usual, was represented as deeply interested in the benevolent project and every other work of love.

The number of trustees appointed by the charter was twenty-one, among whom were the Earl of Shaftesbury, the author of the "Characteristics," Lord Percival, Lord Tyrconnel, Lord Limerick, Lord Carpenter, Stephen Hales, the celebrated philosopher and divine, and other distinguished names, besides that of Oglethorpe, who was the moving spirit of the whole. They were vested with the powers of legislation for twenty-one years, after which a permanent form of government was to be established, corresponding with the British law, by the King or his successors. Lord Percival was elected president of the corporation. As large expenditures were necessary, the trustees set an example of liberality by their private subscriptions; the directors of the Bank of England followed their example; the friends of humanity expressed their interest in the work by numerous gifts; the House of Commons, sharing the general enthusiasm, made a

grant of nearly ten thousand pounds; and the whole sum, collected almost without solicitation, amounted to thirty-six thousand (\$180,000). The greatest exhibition of generosity was in the request made by the trustees, to have clauses inserted in the charter restraining them and their successors from accepting any salary, gift, or perquisite whatever; not even permitting them to receive a grant of lands under any circumstances in the settlement proposed.

This perfect disinterestedness of proceeding distinguished this enterprise from all others of the kind recorded in history. As great efforts were to be made by many of the trustees, and heavy sacrifices of time and wealth by some of their number, it certainly could not have subjected them to the imputation of selfishness had they secured some right for themselves in the lands which might be subdued. But, knowing how necessary it was to avoid the appearance of evil, and being really interested in the work as a movement of humanity, they took this ground in the beginning; and wisely, as it afterwards proved; since the reservation of the powers of government in their own hands formed a sufficient subject of complaint; and had it been possible to ascribe to them avaricious and interested motives, their whole influence would have been lost. We ought not to wonder at this error in their civil system; it was an age in which popular rights were little understood, and the idea that men could be self-governed, and at the same time well-governed, would have been thought visionary in the extreme. They were not careful to give the settlers a sufficient personal in-

terest in the soil, which they allowed to be necessary; and no one dreamed that the Colonists would expect, or that it would be safe to indulge them with, a share in the counsels by which their own interests were to be secured.

The country appropriated to this Colony by the terms of the charter was the tract between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, and running due west from the head-springs of those rivers to the Pacific Ocean; such being the usual way, at the time, of making grants, in utter darkness as to the amount of territory which they might cover. The seal of the corporation was made with two faces; one with two figures, leaning on urns, representing the two rivers, which formed the north-eastern and south-western boundaries of the province, having between them the genius of Georgia Augusta, with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, and the horn of plenty in the other. This was to be used for the authentication of legislative acts, deeds, and commissions. The other, which was the common seal, to be affixed to grants, certificates, and orders, represented silk-worms at their work, some beginning, others closing, their labors, with the inscription *Non sibi, sed aliis*, (Not for themselves, but for others), words truly descriptive of the disinterestedness with which the foundations of the colony were laid. It was also expressive of one of their favorite objects, in which they were not destined to succeed to their hearts' desires.

They had learned that the climate of the province was favorable to the silk-worm, and that the mul-

berry grew wild. Though they knew that the industry of the men would be required for severer labors, they thought that the attention requisite during the feeding of the worms might be given by the aged and infirm, by women and children, without interference with any other duty. Their plan was to engage Italians to accompany the expedition, who should give instruction in the art of feeding the worms and winding the threads. By a careful cultivation of the trees, and urging the business upon the attention of the settlers as a direct way to prosperity, they hoped to surprise the nation with remittances of silk in a short time, and thus to convince the people of the importance of the colony to the mother country. There was no defect of wisdom in the plan; it shows the activity of mind with which Oglethorpe sought everywhere the means of success; it did not prosper, because it was premature; such things cannot be forced into existence before their time. In the early days of a Colony in the wilderness, the struggle necessary to subdue the soil will generally create a distaste and contempt for the more quiet and domestic labors. As to introducing it against the wishes of the people, they had the example of Henry the Fourth of France, to show that such a measure would require the exercise of power which they did not possess.

This idea of producing silk in Georgia was not altogether new. It appears from Dr. Stevens's "Brief History of the Culture of Silk in Georgia,"*

* A valuable treatise appended to Dr. Harris's "Life of Oglethorpe," p. 391.

that the subject had engaged the attention of emigrants to Virginia as early as 1609; and, in a pamphlet then published, it is said: "There are silke-worms and plenty of mulberie-trees, whereby ladies, gentlewomen, and little children, being set in the way to do it, may be all imployed, with pleasure, making silke comparable to that of Persia, Turkey, or any other." Attempts were made to convince the colonists of the benefits which would arise from this cultivation and manufacture. A work was published, called "Virginia Discovery of Silk-Wormes, with their Benefits," the object of which was to show, that, as a staple, silk would be more valuable than tobacco. But the latter commodity unfortunately kept its ground, and maintains it to the present day, though it appears that the coronation robe of Charles the Second was made from Virginia silk, and considerable quantities of the raw material were exported at various times.*

The culture of silk was introduced into South Carolina in the year 1703; but meantime the cultivation of rice had been attended with success, which prevented this subject from gaining any general attention. It was not wholly neglected, however; Miss Lucas, afterwards Mrs. Pinckney, the lady who first introduced the cultivation of indigo, took with her to England a sufficient quantity of silk for three

* Several tracts were published, from time to time, on the culture of silk in Virginia. Experiments were also made, with some degree of success, in Pennsylvania. A specimen of the Pennsylvania silk was presented to the Queen by Dr. Franklin, as late as 1772.—Sparks's "Works of Franklin," Vol. VII. pp. 456, 527; Vol. VIII. p. 3.

dressess, one of which was presented to the Princess Dowager of Wales, another to Lord Chesterfield, and the third was in existence in Charleston, when Dr. Ramsay wrote, about thirty years ago.*

The same causes which interfered with its success in other provinces afterwards operated in Georgia, though everything was done by way of instruction and encouragement to recommend it to the people. The climate did not prove so friendly as was anticipated, though it was favorable when compared with most other countries. Sudden transitions from heat to cold destroyed at once great numbers of worms, and with them the high hopes which their proprietors had been indulging. The work was at first encouraged by bounties, and naturally languished when such premiums were withdrawn. Labor was also too expensive to be hired for this purpose, when there were many others to which it could be more profitably applied. But the fatal blow, perhaps, was given to it by the cultivation of rice, and afterwards of cotton, which yielded large and profitable crops, much more advantageous to the producer.

* Ramsay's "History of South Carolina," Vol. II. pp. 209, 220.

CHAPTER III

Preparations for the Enterprise.—Objections to it.—Inducements offered.—Oglethorpe appointed Governor.—Conditions with the Emigrants.—Restrictions on Trade.—Exclusion of Slaves.—Difficulties of Colonization.

BUT to return to the preparations for the enterprise; it was necessary to secure a sufficient number of persons who should engage to accompany the expedition. Since it was to be conducted on strict principles of justice and humanity, it would have no great attraction for common adventurers; and, as the steady and industrious were generally prosperous at home, it was not certain that emigrants fit for the purpose would be readily found. In pursuance of the original design, a committee was appointed to visit the prisons, to make out a list of insolvent debtors whose creditors were willing to discharge them, to inquire into the circumstances of applicants, and to make arrangements to assist and encourage those who might be proper and willing to go. To use the words of Oglethorpe himself, "They, who are oppressed with poverty and misfortune, are unable to be at the charge of removing from their miseries. These are the people intended to be relieved. Let us cast our eyes on the multitude of unfortunate people in the kingdom, of reputable families, and of liberal, or, at least, easy education; some undone by guar-

dians, some by law-suits, some by accidents in commerce, some by stocks and bubbles, and some by suretyship. But all agree in this one circumstance, that they must either be burdensome to their relations, or betake themselves to little shifts for sustenance, which, it is ten to one, do not answer their purposes, and to which a well-educated mind descends with the utmost constraint. What various misfortunes may reduce the rich, the industrious, to the danger of a prison, to a moral certainty of starving! These are the people that may relieve themselves, and strengthen Georgia, by resorting thither, and Great Britain by their departure." *

In Benjamin Martyn's "Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia," published in 1733, he takes notice of the objections which were made to the plan. One was, that it was taking from their own country those whose labor is wanted at home. To which he replies, that those who are shut up in prison are certainly doing no service either to their country or to themselves. He estimated their number at about four thousand every year, who were thus lost to their families and to the country, and, what was worse, thrown among associates whose vicious communications would inevitably deprave them, while poverty and despair were the only portion they could give to their wives and children. But it was not the object of the trustees to remove those whose only recommendation was that they were vicious and use-

* "New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgia," Ch. III.; ascribed to Oglethorpe, and published in London, 1733.

less at home; they therefore resolved to publish the names of those who proposed to go, that none might escape dishonorably from their creditors, that no father might secretly desert his wife and children, and that the base and immoral might be sifted out from the seed with which the broad fields of the new region were to be sown.

One objection he endeavors to answer, because it so truly anticipated that which was afterwards to be. It was, that "the Colonies would in time become too great, and throw off their independency." To this he answers, that, if they were governed by such mild and wholesome laws as those of England, they would have no reason for dissatisfaction. He did not reflect that it was under the operation of those mild and wholesome laws that they were compelled to leave their homes; and that those who found no place reserved for them at the table of nature; those who, as Swift said, had been ruined by obtaining a decree in chancery in their favor with costs, and those who had just come from unsavory prisons and chains, would have a less lively sense of gratitude to those laws than others who were less intimately acquainted with their operations. He also assumed that they would carry with them a lingering attachment to their native country, which would induce them to remain connected with it as long as possible. But he admitted the possibility of their setting up an independent government for themselves, if ever they should be oppressed; and he seemed to admit that, under those circumstances, England would deserve to lose them.

The inducements offered were found sufficient to dispose many persons to emigrate; they were to be supplied with stores for the voyage, and supported for a sufficient time after their arrival, till they should be able to provide for themselves. They were also to be furnished with tools, arms, seeds, and other necessary articles, from the public stores. Lands were to be assigned them, not in fee simple, but with certain restrictions, intended to keep out Roman Catholics, to prevent settlers from acquiring permanent rights till they had shown themselves worthy, and to keep estates in the hands of men, who might perform military duty when required. General Oglethorpe, having signified his readiness to accompany the expedition, was appointed Governor of the Colony; he accepted the trust, and resolved to sail in the same vessel with other emigrants, that he might watch over their health and welfare; offering, at the same time, to bear his own expenses, and to do all in his power for the relief and assistance of others. This conduct on his part not only inspired respect and confidence in those who were to be under his charge, thus giving him a command over their affections which was of much more service than his official powers, but it called the public attention to the enterprise; and, since it evidently was not undertaken with interested views, it was welcomed as a work of benevolence, in which every friend of humanity was happy, if able, to bear his part.

That no one might afterwards complain of having been misled, all who proposed to go to Georgia

were examined, to know if they had any objection to the terms and conditions proposed. Some of these were of a kind which, though considered necessary by the trustees, who had no interest to oppress, were very likely to bear hardly on the settlers at a future time. A rent was to be paid of twenty shillings sterling for every hundred acres on land, which they considered as given to them by the Crown. There was no power in any settler to assign or transfer his lands; the whole was to revert to the trustees, if not improved within a given time; and if a man died without heirs male, his daughters could not inherit, but the property was forfeited, and liable to be granted to some other hands. The last provision was certainly discouraging; there seemed to be no sufficient reason for considering it a crime not to have sons, nor for imposing a penalty upon daughters. As a power was lodged in the hands of the government for dispensing with this restriction to some extent, in cases of hardship, there was probably no great danger of its being abused; still, the circumstance that it existed was a misfortune, since it showed that human rights were not thoroughly comprehended, and on any dissatisfaction, from whatever cause, it afforded strong ground on which complaints might rest.

Another restriction, which occasioned great complaint, was very honorable to the wisdom and firmness of the trustees. It was that which forbade the use and importation of rum, which was then considered so essential to the support of life, that many good men lamented its exclusion as a rash experi-

ment upon the health and comfort of men. It was urged, in opposition to their arguments, that the experience of all Americans had shown the necessity of qualifying water with spirit, whereas it had not been proved that men could live without it. It was also said that there was no market for their timber, in the sugar islands, without receiving rum in return. Another apprehension was, that, if not introduced under sanction of law, it would find its way without it; which was probably true, but certainly afforded no reason for giving up a wholesome and necessary restraint; since the objection that it might be violated could be made to every law. The total exclusion of trade with the West Indies was indeed a hardship; but whoever reflects on the effect of the indulgence which it was intended to forbid, the misery which it spreads through every department of social existence, and the withering curse which it sends to the home and the heart, will agree with the founders of Georgia, that exemption from such a calamity is a blessing to be purchased at any price.

But the prohibition which was likely to occasion the greatest complaint among the emigrants, and which afterwards proved a source of constant dissatisfaction, was the entire exclusion of slaves from the settlement. The motive for this exclusion was partly politic and partly humane. Francis Moore alludes to the former in his "Voyage to Georgia," saying that the object was to establish a strong and industrious Colony.* "It is necessary, therefore,

* "Collections of the Georgia Historical Society," Vol. I. p. 96.

not to permit slaves in such a country, for slaves starve the poor laborer. For, if the gentleman can have his work done by a slave, who is a carpenter, or a bricklayer, the carpenters or bricklayers of that country must starve for want of employment; and so of other trades."

The establishment of Colonies under any circumstances is a thankless task, and those concerned in it must look for their recompense to their own hearts, and to future ages. Lord Bacon says, "Planting of colonies is like planting of woods; for you must make an account to lose almost twenty years' profit and expense for your recompense in the end. The principal thing that has been the destruction of colonies has been the sordid and hasty catching at profit in the first years. It is true, quick returns are not to be neglected, so far as consists with the good of the plantation, but no further." * The history of almost every civil colony ever undertaken shows the wisdom of this remark, and the discouragement which comes from high-raised expectations. Even in Pennsylvania, favorable as the auspices were, under which it was commenced, the difficulties, which the founder had to encounter, were oppressive in the extreme. Virginia, too, struggled long in her childhood before she grew into firmness and strength; all manner of impatience and discontent was expressed by the early settlers in their letters to England, warning others against coming to share their lot. Even the history of the Pilgrims, though of all men best calculated to struggle with hardship, and unacquainted even with

* Bacon's "Essays," Vol. III. p. 349.

the name of discouragement, shows how difficult it is to lay the foundations of a happy and flourishing State.

The circumstance, that so much was done in aid of the first settlers of Georgia, did not tend to make them more industrious and contented. Some, who had been reduced by misfortunes, were unused to labor, and others were desperately idle; with the taste for exaction common to such persons, they saw no reason why those, who had done so much for them, should not do more, and were much more displeased that anything was denied than grateful for all that was given. The trustees showed a disposition to remove all reasonable grounds of complaint. The law, which excluded females from the succession, was so altered that a daughter could inherit land to any extent less than two thousand acres. The prohibition to alienate lands was abandoned, and all possessors of land might give leases of any part of their lots for any term not exceeding five years. The law, requiring the lands to be improved within a certain time, was altered after the suggestion of the freeholders. But a storehouse, which was maintained for the subsistence of the people, was kept open longer than was promised or intended; and when it was found necessary at last to close it, though sufficient warning was given, the clamor was great against the measure, as a piece of injustice and oppression. To read the statements of the discontented, one would suppose that they had been betrayed to their ruin, and that they were suffering under constant, grievous, and intolerable wrongs.

CHAPTER IV

Embarkation and Arrival at Charleston.—Savannah founded.
—Character and Manners of the Indians.—Treaty with them.
—Oglethorpe's Energy and Self-denial.—Aid from Carolina.
—Visit to Charleston.—Council with the Indians.—Municipal Regulations.—Social System.

WHEN the necessary arrangements had been made, the emigrants embarked on the 16th of November, 1732, accompanied by the Reverend Henry Herbert, a clergyman of the Church of England. The *Ann*, in which they sailed, was of two hundred tons' burden; the passengers were thirty-five families, consisting of farmers and mechanics of various kinds, well provided with the instruments of their trade. One of the party was Mr. Amatis, of Piedmont, who was skilled in the culture of silk. They were also furnished with arms for defence against the Indians. The hostility to rum did not extend to its kindred liquors. Ten tuns of beer and ten of wine were sent on board. Oglethorpe, who took passage with them, superintended the details of preparation, furnished his own cabin-fare, and showed the deepest interest in the comfort and welfare of his fellow-adventurers.

The vessel arrived at the bar, outside of the port of Charleston, South Carolina, January 13th, 1733. Two feeble children died on the passage, but the

health of the passengers generally was good. Oglethorpe went on shore to pay his respects to Governor Johnson, and was treated by him and his Council with the greatest kindness and respect. The King's pilot was ordered to conduct the ship into Port Royal, and to supply the means to transport the colonists from that place to their destined home, which was done with the delay only of ten hours.

On the 18th, Oglethorpe went on shore at Tench's Island; thence he proceeded to Beaufort, a frontier town of South Carolina, at the mouth of the Coosawatchie River, and provided with an excellent harbor. The Colonists, arriving two days after, were kindly received by the King's officers and other gentlemen, and remained there for a time to rest after the hardships of the voyage; while their chief, always active and indefatigable, went to explore the country. Having found a spot suited to his purpose, he selected it as the headquarters of his future settlement, and gave it the name of Savannah, the Indian name of the river flowing near it. After his return, on the 24th, he appointed the following Sabbath to be observed by himself and the emigrants as a day of thanksgiving for their safe arrival. Many persons assembled from all sides to congratulate them on their arrival, and to take part in the religious services of the occasion.

In a letter, written from the camp near Savannah, he advises the trustees of his selection of a future home. He tells them that he has found a healthy situation, about ten miles from the sea, on the Savannah River, which there forms a half-moon, on the

south side of which the banks are about forty feet high. Above is a plain, extending about a mile along the river, and running several miles back into the country. In the centre of this plain he has laid out the town, opposite to which is an island, rich in pasture. The river is wide, the water fresh, and so deep that ships, drawing twelve feet of water, can ride within ten yards of the shore.* It is bordered with high woods on both sides. The whole people arrived on the 1st of February, and were employed at once in preparing the fortifications and clearing away the woods. Their only immediate neighbors were a small Indian nation, who, so far from having any idea of resistance, were desirous to be acknowledged as subjects of the English King. They were treated with all possible kindness; presents were made to them, and they were assured that if any injury was offered them they should receive full redress. The natives were thus disarmed of the wish and power to injure, and made to serve as a safeguard against other foes. Another letter says, that all the people were in perfect health, the site of the town having been selected with this view, after the example of an Indian tribe, who had made the same choice before. The soil was dry and sandy, and vast forests of pine sheltered it from the western and southern winds, which were considered the most injurious in the country. Emigrants were sent over from time to time, and, in June, 1733, the whole number amounted, including several Italians, to one

* "Collections of the Georgia Historical Society," Vol. II. p. 284.

hundred and fifty-two, of whom eleven were foreign Protestants, and sixty-one were men.

Unfortunately, the Moravians were not of this number. In 1727, Count Zinzendorf had opened a correspondence with Oglethorpe, with the view of associating his people with the colony then proposed. The proposal was gladly welcomed; but the Moravians were not ready at the time when the emigrants sailed, and the vessel necessarily went without them. When they afterward arrived in Holland, they were induced to change their destination for Pennsylvania, where they established their home. Some years after, the trustees, well aware of the value of that simple and conscientious people, and hoping that their example of quiet industry would affect the English settlers, renewed their correspondence with Count Zinzendorf, and offered a large tract of land to any Moravian society that might be established in Georgia. The offer was accepted; and, at his suggestion, a party determined to go. It was stipulated that they should not be obliged to render military service, which was against their religious principles; they were instructed by their venerated teacher to submit themselves cheerfully, under all circumstances, to the guidance and disposal of their God, to cherish liberty of conscience, to avoid all religious disputes, to live in honest and patient industry, and to make it their endeavor to preach the gospel to the Indians. The only difficulty was that the Moravian discipline kept them so much apart from others that their good example did not always reach those who would have done well to follow it.

The presence of the Moravians in the colony would have promised good to the Indians; but the founder of the settlement always had their conversion and general welfare in view, and did his best to secure them. In a paper which is still preserved, he says that he has held conversations with them, from which he is satisfied that they will receive Christianity as soon as it can be presented by one who understands their language and their feeling. There are some aspects of morality, he says, in which they are already exemplary. Theft is a thing unknown among the Creeks, though common among the Uchees. They abhor adultery, and do not approve a plurality of wives. Murder they condemn, but they do not give that name to the destruction of an enemy, or of one who has done them wrong. They excused these acts of revenge, by saying that, as they had no tribunals among them, this immediate retribution was necessary for the security of life and honor. It is only in requital of murder and adultery, however, that they allow this summary vengeance; in the former case, the duties assigned by public opinion to the nearest relation are precisely similar to those of the Hebrew "avenger of blood."

What he was most struck with in their social system was the absence of all coercive power. Public measures were debated in council by the elders, each of whom expressed his opinion with perfect freedom. When they have come to some harmonious result, they call in the young men, and urge them to execute the plan proposed with all the energy in their power. He was very much struck with their eloquence; with

the strength of its painting, and its force of expression. Tomo Chichi, an Indian chief, in his first set speech, gave him a buffalo's skin, on the inside of which were painted the head and feathers of an eagle. The eagle, he said, signified swiftness, and the buffalo strength. This represented the force of flight with which the English came over the waters, and their might on the shore, which nothing could withstand. The soft feathers were a sign of love, and the warm fur an emblem of protection; and these he hoped the English would always extend to his small and helpless people. Their bearing was dignified and manly. On one occasion, an Indian, who presented himself to the Governor, was told that he might speak freely and without fear. He answered, "I always speak freely; why should I fear? I am now among my friends; and I never fear even among my enemies." Oglethorpe was sagacious enough to know that the greatest danger to the Indians would proceed not so much from the violent encroachment of the whites as the base avarice which would supply them with the means of self-destruction. This was one of the reasons why he endeavored to save his own Colonists, as well as their neighbors, from that taste for intemperance, which is the destroying curse of a civilized as well as a savage people.

With that regard for justice and humanity which always marked his proceedings, Oglethorpe thought it necessary, feeble as the neighboring Indians were, to obtain a formal cession of their lands, and to negotiate a treaty, for the restraint and benefit of

both parties. With this view, he proposed a meeting to Tomo Chichi, although he was only the chief of a small tribe established at Yamacraw, three miles from Savannah. It happened, that an Indian woman had married a white trader by the name of Musgrove, and had learned from him the English language. By employing her services as an interpreter, the apprehended difficulty of communication was at once removed. But the old chief told him that the land in question, and the whole region, was claimed by the tribes of Upper and Lower Creeks, whose consent it would be well to obtain; and for this purpose Tomo Chichi himself was employed to solicit the head-men of those tribes to attend a conference at Savannah. The nation of Lower Creeks consisted of nine towns, containing about one thousand warriors; with these Tomo Chichi and his people were connected. The other two were the Upper Creeks and Uchees, the latter consisting of about two hundred, and the former of eleven hundred, men.

While these arrangements were made, the Colonists were doing what they could to provide permanent habitations and the essential comforts of civilized life. After finishing a crane for raising goods to the bluff from the river, and a magazine and battery of cannon, a sort of preparation which usually accompanies the "march of mind," they began to erect houses, which work, as some were sick and others unused to labor, was necessarily slow. It is pleasing to observe that they looked beyond their immediate wants; for one of the first steps taken was the laying out a nursery and public garden, from

which the people might be supplied with plants for their own cultivation, and also with vines, oranges, olives, and mulberry-trees.

A letter written at the time gives an interesting account of the chief of the enterprise, and shows that, of all their labors and sacrifices, he was ready to bear more than his part. He was very indifferent as to his own accommodations of every kind, but very careful to secure the best he could for his people. In sickness and suffering, he was sure to be with them; but his discipline was exact and unyielding; he allowed no idlers; all, even the children, were provided with something to do. All disputes were immediately referred to him; as he could have no personal ends to serve, his decisions were satisfactory to impartial minds. The letter shows not only the energy and disinterestedness of Oglethorpe, but also the confidence which his bearing inspired; a reward which does not always follow those who best deserve it.

Another contemporary authority bears the same testimony to Oglethorpe, in a pamphlet called "A New Voyage to Georgia," first published in 1735. The writer sailed from London for Charlestown (as it was then written) in 1733, and arrived after a passage of three months. After a short stay there, he proceeded to Savannah, which he describes as a pleasant town, situated on a beautiful bluff above the river. It contained, at the time, about forty houses, all of the same size, twenty-two feet by sixteen. The four lofty pines under which the first encampment was made were still standing, and there Oglethorpe himself still lived, in a house without a chimney, and

more inconveniently lodged than any other person. The writer says of him that " he is a worthy gentleman, and one that has undergone a great many hardships in settling of it, and one that the English nation will always be bound to pray for. It is to be wished, that all other gentlemen, especially those that have it in their power, would have the good of their country and of all his Majesty's subjects as much at heart." * He says there is every promise that it will soon be a flourishing country. In the centre of the town was a place reserved for a church, which was to be erected as soon as possible. Public worship, meantime, was attended in a building which was used as a school-room on the other days of the week.

The town was protected by a large guard-house, in which were several guns mounted, and a watch kept night and day; a lighthouse was building, four-score feet high, to be set upon the point of Tybee Island. After travelling a few months, the writer made a second visit to Savannah, and was struck with the surprising change that had been made in less than half a year. The houses were not only increased from forty to a hundred, but they had settled several villages at some distance from the town, and were fast extending plantations on the Ogeechee and other rivers. His impression was that no colony was ever established which promised so much advantage to England. He thought the climate the finest in the world, neither the cold nor the heat ever going to excess; the land appeared to be good, and the water

* "A New Voyage to Georgia," p. 4.

excellent; the culture of mulberries and vines was well suited to the climate, and there was every prospect of succeeding both with silk and wine. These occasional glimpses at the new settlement, furnished by those who had no interest in their favor nor against them, afford the surest means of forming a correct judgment. It was not long, however, before serious difficulties rose, and statements directly contradictory to each other made it difficult to ascertain the true condition of the new people.

In justice to their neighbors of South Carolina, it should not be forgotten that they rendered the new Colony their most friendly and efficient aid. They sent Colonel Bull, a man of energy and experience, familiar with the work of clearing the land for a settlement, who took with him men and provisions, that he might not burden them with expense, and gave them at once the benefit of his services, his instructions, and his example. A detachment of soldiers was sent to protect them, while they should make preparations for their own defence; vessels belonging to South Carolina were placed at their disposal; a hundred cattle and a score of swine were sent as a present, together with twenty barrels of rice; all which substantial kindness was accompanied with congratulations on their success and warm wishes for their future welfare. In the following summer, Oglethorpe made a visit to Charleston, and appeared before the Governor and House of Assembly, when he expressed his gratitude to them in an address, thanking them for their sympathy and assistance in the name of the trustees of the infant

colony, and also of the distressed persons in Britain, and the persecuted Protestants in Europe, all of whom were deeply interested in the success of an enterprise which would offer to many sufferers a refuge, a resting-place, and a home.

It should also be commemorated that a letter was received from Thomas Penn, at that time the proprietor of Pennsylvania, in which he expressed his deep interest in the philanthropic undertaking, promised all the aid he might be able to render, and informed them that, besides subscribing one hundred pounds himself, he was employed in soliciting subscriptions from others.

On returning from Charleston, where he made no longer stay than official courtesy required, Oglethorpe found the chiefs of the Lower Creeks in attendance at Savannah, for the purpose of forming a treaty with the colony. The deputation consisted of chiefs and leading warriors, about fifty in number. They were received with respect and kindness, and invited to hold a council. There the General informed them that the English, in coming there, had no idea of troubling or disturbing the original proprietors of the soil; they wished to be on the best terms with them, and were desirous to obtain from them a cession of lands, and to enter into an alliance for the benefit of both parties. Ouechachumpa, an old chief, rose, and replied in a friendly speech; and a treaty was soon concluded, by which the Indians ceded lands on the Savannah River as far as the Ogeechee, and all the lands along the coasts between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, including all the islands,

and extending west as high as the tide flows. A reservation was made of two or three islands, and a small tract on shore, the former for bathing and fishing, the latter for an encampment when visiting the country. The presents, on the part of the English, consisted of a laced coat, a hat, and a shirt to each of the chiefs, a gun with powder and shot to each of the war-captains, and a mantle of coarse cloth to each of the men who accompanied them. After this the Indians departed, well pleased with the regard which had been shown them and the evident disposition, on the part of the English leader, to respect their rights, and to be forbearing in the use of his power.

Soon after this, Oglethorpe took with him a detachment of rangers on an excursion into the country. He selected a place on the west bank of the Ogeechee River, which commanded the passes through which the Indians had been in the habit of making inroads on Carolina. On a commanding height he built a fortification, to which he gave the name of Fort Argyle, in honor of the friend and patron of his early years, who had borne testimony in the House of Lords to his military talent, his contempt of danger, his generosity of spirit, and his devotion to the public good. The object of this outpost was to guard against surprise from the Spanish posts in Florida. A company of soldiers was stationed there as a garrison, and several families from Savannah established themselves as cultivators in the neighboring country.

A time was set apart in the following month, July,

for assigning the lots in Savannah, and marking out the wards of the town. The lots in the town were small, not exceeding a quarter of an acre; but others of five acres were assigned at a little distance, where the settlers could raise what was needed for their support.* The wards and tithings were then designated, each ward consisting of four tithings, and each tithing of ten houses. This was followed by a religious service and a public dinner, the latter being the usual afterpiece to all American celebrations.

This proceeding was followed by the establishment of tribunals of justice, for which purpose officers were appointed and a system set in operation. But it was easier to devise and frame the necessary arrangements than to carry them into effect; and with all the good intentions of the trustees, which could not be doubted, it was found that their reservation of all power in their own hands for twenty-one years gave them the aspect of a body having interests opposed to those of the people. Such certainly was the impression of the Colonists; and the natural result was that all the inconveniences and hardships, inseparable from an enterprise of the kind, were ascribed at once to abuse of power. There was no common interest among them; the restless and discontented found none who were strongly interested and determined to put them down; as the government was not their own affair, there were few who cared much whether it was sustained or resisted. In all new settlements, there are numberless causes of complaint and disunion; but in popular govern-

* "A New Voyage to Georgia," p. 6.

ments they work themselves off, without danger of explosion. In that age, the difficulty and danger of attempting to suppress them by power was little understood; our age has learned it from many a history, written deep in blood.

It was the intention of Oglethorpe, at this time, after the first laborious efforts of colonization were over, to make a tour through the provinces before returning to England. His fame had gone before him; and no sooner was his purpose known in Massachusetts than Governor Belcher addressed a letter to him, containing an offer of an honorable welcome at his own house in Boston, which was followed by a vote of the House of Representatives of the province, in which they acknowledged, in terms of the highest respect, his services to the cause of humanity at large; and for themselves they said: "The Assembly are well knowing of the many good offices he hath done this province, in that, when the interest, trade, and business thereof have been under the consideration of the British Parliament, he hath, in a distinguishing manner, consulted measures to perpetuate the peace and lasting happiness of this government; and, as his worthy and generous actions justly deserve a most grateful and public acknowledgment, they assure him that this country will retain a lasting remembrance of his great benefactions." * Unfortunately, the pressure of business, which was never lightened, prevented his visit to

* Alluding doubtless to the part taken by Oglethorpe, in Parliament, against the *Sugar Act*, in 1732; by which act, the northern colonists believed their interests to be sacrificed to the clamors of the sugar planters in the West India Islands.

New England, where he would have been received with an enthusiasm which the government and people, not always harmonious in other measures, would have united on this occasion to show to one who was regarded as the benefactor of America and the friend of man.

CHAPTER V

Arrival of the Saltzburgers.—Settlement of Ebenezer.—Indian Chiefs in England.—Interest in the Conversion of the Indians.—Engagement of the Wesleys.—Highland Emigrants.—Settlement of Frederica.

THE year 1734 was made remarkable by the addition of the Saltzburgers to the colony. These were Protestants, who were compelled, by persecutions for conscience' sake, to fly from their homes in Bavaria in the dead of winter. A portion of them found refuge in the Prussian territories; but others, in the hope of being instrumental in converting the Indians, were desirous to seek a place of rest beyond the sea. Great sympathy was felt for them in England; and, after it was ascertained that such was their wish, a ship was sent to transport them from Rotterdam to Dover. They embarked, accordingly, in January, 1734, under the charge of Baron Von Reck, and their pastors, John Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau. Their conduct on the voyage was such as strongly to impress all observers with respect for their single-minded and heavenly devotion; and, after many hardships, they arrived at Charleston on the 7th of March, at a time when Oglethorpe unexpectedly was there to bid them welcome. With his usual kindness, he supplied their ship with provisions, and treated them with a gen-

erous sympathy, which they did not soon forget. On the 10th, they reached Savannah, on the Sabbath; and "as they lay off the shore, and heard the birds singing sweetly," it seemed to them that, after their many sufferings, they had been conducted at last to a resting-place and a home.

The Colonists, who knew their history, received them with the warmest kindness. Barracks and tents were provided for them till the return of Oglethorpe, who was at Charleston, on his way to England, but was determined to see the Saltzburgers provided for before he left them. He had promised that they should choose the place which suited them best; which they described as a "place distant from the sea, on a gently-rising ground, with intervening vales, near springs of water, and on the border of a small river or brook;" such being the description of their former home. As soon as he returned, therefore, he went up the river in company with the elders, and at the house of Musgrove, about six miles from Savannah, they took horses, and moved in a westerly direction through the woods, till they came to a river, where the adjacent land was hilly, with valleys of cane-land, in which were little brooks and springs of water. This they selected at once; and, kneeling down by the river side, they thanked God for having brought them through so many dangers to "a land of rivers and fountains, a land of valleys and hills." With the Bible in their hands, they marked out a place where the settlement should begin, and there sang a hymn; after which the pastor pronounced a benediction, and the name *Ebenezer*

was given to it. "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us!"

The opinion which the exiles expressed of Oglethorpe was undoubtedly sincere; it is found in the journal of Bolzius, their pastor, who writes: "So far as we can conclude from a short acquaintance with him, he is a man who has a great reverence for God and his holy word and ordinances, a cordial love for the servants and children of God, and who wishes to see the name of Christ glorified in all places. So blest have been his undertakings and his presence in this land, that more hath been accomplished by him in one year than others would have effected in many. And since the people here have so good cause to appreciate his right fatherly disposition, his indefatigable toil for their welfare, and his illustrious qualities, they feel that his departure would be a real loss to them. For he hath cared for us with a most provident solicitude. We unite in prayer for him, that God would guide him to his home, make his voyage safe and prosperous, and enrich him with many blessings."*

When this business was concluded, he returned to Charleston in company with a retinue of Indian chiefs, who were to go with him to England, where their presence, which was then a novelty, was likely to attract the general attention and produce a favorable effect. They took passage in the *Aldbrough* man-of-war, which, after a passage of little more than a month, arrived in England on the 16th of June, 1734.

* Harris's "Oglethorpe," p. 88.

He immediately sent word of his arrival to the trustees, who received him with honors and congratulations, giving entertainments as a mark of public respect, and unanimously voting their thanks for "the ability, zeal, and perseverance with which he had conducted the affairs of the settlement," and assuring him "that they should ever hold his services in grateful remembrance." From the prints of the day it appears that his return created a considerable sensation in England. Complimentary verses, which were not then the same depreciated currency as at present, were liberally dispensed to him; his name was established among men of large views and energetic action, as a distinguished benefactor of mankind.

The Indians were provided for at the Georgia Office; and when they were suitably dressed, and had painted their faces, a fashion, by the way, not wholly unknown in court circles before they came, they were taken to the palace at Kensington, to be seen by the King and courtiers. Tomo Chichi was the orator on the occasion. He said to the King "that he had come to see his person, the greatness of his house, and the number of his people. He was himself too old to expect any personal advantage; but he hoped to secure the benefits of knowledge and religion for his people." He then offered the feathers of an eagle to the King, saying, "I present to you, in their name, the feathers of an eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and flieth round our nations. These feathers are emblems of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town to witness it.

We have brought them to you, to be a pledge of peace on our part, to be kept on yours." The King made a gracious reply, after which they were presented to Queen Caroline, who was in truth the reigning monarch. She was addressed with respect and good taste by an aged chief; and, after they had been introduced to the whole royal family, they returned to their lodgings. They remained four months in England, receiving every attention which might inspire them with friendly feeling and respect for the power and resources of the country; and they appear to have borne themselves throughout with that instinctive propriety and self-command which are the distinguishing traits of the race to which they belonged.

Oglethorpe remained in England after their return, to attend to his public and private duties; but he retained his full interest in the colony. At his suggestion, the trustees prepared a regulation, which was matured by the government into a law "for maintaining peace with the Indians." A subsidiary measure of great importance was also taken, by passing an Act to prevent the importation and use of all kinds of ardent spirits, and also to supply their place with beer and wines; the philosophy of the day not having reached the discovery that the taste created by temperate indulgence in the one naturally leads on to the excessive use of the other. Another Act reënforced the provisions already made to prevent the importation of slaves, giving as a reason the expense of their purchase and support, and the certainty that white labor would be brought into con-

tempt, if work could be done by other hands. There was a difference of opinion, as to the propriety of these prohibitory statutes; but Governor Belcher, alluding to Georgia, records his approbation in the words: "I still insist upon it that these regulations are essential to its healthy and prosperous condition."

The attention of the Indians, while in England, had been directed to the education and religion of the whites, as the great elements of their superior prosperity and strength. Oglethorpe endeavored to deepen that impression, and also to provide the means of instructing them in all those things which it was most important for them to know. For this purpose he appealed to the evangelical Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, to prepare a manual suited to the purpose. He did so without delay, and the work was printed at the expense of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts." In the preface he states, that he was moved by General Oglethorpe's great and generous concern, and his well-known endeavors in behalf of that unfortunate people, to do what little was in his power toward smoothing the way for them to receive the gospel.

The trustees, after this, began to look round for fit persons to employ as preachers at Savannah, with a view, also, to the conversion of the Indians. At the suggestion of Dr. John Burton, who was one of the Board, they turned their attention to the celebrated John Wesley, then a young man, well known for his great attainments and earnest piety. Oglethorpe was not unacquainted with the family, having

had some communication with the father, to whose published works he subscribed to the amount of twenty pounds. When he proposed the mission to Wesley, he declined at once; but he was so wrought upon by the representations made of the good which he might do, that, after a time, he agreed to go, in case his mother should consent. He thought it very unlikely that she could be reconciled to his leaving her soon after his father's death, which brought poverty, loneliness, and sorrow upon her; but, with that lofty spirit, for which she was remarkable, she said, as soon as it was mentioned to her, that, if she had twenty sons, she should rejoice to have them so employed, though she should never see them more.* He consulted with William Law and John Byrom the poet, and was so much encouraged by their sympathy and hope of benefit to mankind from his services, that he entered heartily into the work, from which he had shrunk at first, probably from the consciousness that he was better qualified for other fields of duty.

Before these arrangements were carried into effect, it was found necessary to do something for the temporal welfare of the colony. A considerable proportion of the first settlers had begun to exhibit the same points of character in their new home which had reduced them to distress in England; and, as their wants were supplied till they could rely upon themselves, they had not the impulse of stern necessity to drive them to exertion. The trustees began to look for better materials; they saw that it required

* Southey's "Life of Wesley," Vol. I. p. 90.

hardy, judicious, and resolute men to constitute a state, and that there must be at least enough of that description to give a prevailing spirit to the whole. While, therefore, they offered liberal terms to those who chose to emigrate, they endeavored to impress upon their minds that they must encounter great hardships, though they were supplied with lands and provisions for a year. The woods were to be cleared away, and the land subdued to cultivation, which was a work of toil and time. The climate was oppressive in summer, and, by a curious alliance of evils, they were told that flies and thunder-storms abounded.* If they were prepared with strong hands and hearts to give battle to difficulties and dangers, they were advised to go; otherwise, they were assured that the colony was no place for them. Several were dismayed at this representation; but, as the number of applicants was far greater than could be received, there was no failure of numbers. In Scotland, the enterprise met with great favor; one hundred and thirty Highlanders, with fifty women and children, enrolled themselves for the expedition; and, from their hardy habits, they were thought excellent settlers for the exposed frontiers.

Oglethorpe, who was the soul of all these movements, was diligent in making arrangements for the safety and success of the emigration, preparing tools, provisions, clothing, and other stores for the settlers, and comforts of various kinds for the voyage; not

* Moore's "Voyage to Georgia," p. 9. This volume was published in 1744, but the regulations here alluded to were adopted in July, 1735.

with reference to himself, however; for we are assured, by a fellow-passenger, that, while he made these preparations, he paid the passage of the gentlemen who were with him and his servants, and scarcely ever ate anything but the common provisions of the ship. There were two vessels employed, each of about two hundred and twenty tons, the *Symond* and *London Merchant*. The government offered a vessel for the accommodation of the General; but he declined the offer, preferring to accompany the emigrants, that he might take care of their health and welfare on the voyage. A considerable number of Saltzburgers and other Protestants from the Continent joined themselves to this party.

The arrangements for the passage showed a regard for the laws of health, of which we can trace few examples in the history of the time. The ships were supplied by the trustees with vegetables of every kind that could be preserved, which were to be dealt out with salt provisions, in order to prevent the scurvy. The ships were divided into cabins, with gangways between them, each cabin having its door and partition; in these they were disposed by families, the single persons being placed by themselves. There were constables appointed to prevent disorder of every kind; the men were exercised in the use of arms, and the women provided with cloth, needles, and thread, to keep up their habits of industry. The vessels were kept rigidly clean, and washed with vinegar and water as often as the weather would allow. In case of sickness, the General visited the patient, and provided him from his own stores with

everything for his comfort and relief. Such was the effect of this humane and enlightened attention that not an individual died on board the crowded vessels in the long and weary voyage, which lasted more than three months. They arrived at Savannah on the 5th of February, 1736.

The duties of religion were not neglected on board the vessels. The Wesleys, for Charles accompanied his brother, read prayers twice a day. On Sundays they preached, catechized the children, and administered the Lord's supper. The dissenters, of various descriptions, conducted their worship in their own way, it being the order of the General that they should enjoy their faith, whatever it was, in peace. Wesley appears to have been profoundly impressed with the pious simplicity of the Germans. They performed every servile office for the other passengers, without allowing any acknowledgment to be made them; and, if they were treated with injury and contempt to any degree, they bore it with unaltered kindness and good-will. Wesley did not feel himself prepared to die, and was anxious to know what their feeling in the prospect of death would be. A storm rose while they were engaged in their religious services; the sea covered the ship, split the mainsail, and poured down between the decks in such a manner as convinced the passengers that their last hour was come; but, while the cry of despair rose on all sides, and the thunder of the tempest sounded, the voice of the Moravians was heard at intervals calmly singing praise to God.*

* Southey, Vol. I. p. 94.

The Reverend Henry Moore relates an incident concerning Wesley, which is very honorable to him, and also throws light on the character of the General, who, like almost all other men of great energy, had fire slumbering within. Wesley, hearing a great noise in the cabin, stepped in to inquire the cause; he found Grimaldi, the General's foreign servant, pale and trembling before his master, who said, "Mr. Wesley, you must excuse me. I have met with a provocation too great for a man to bear. You know that I drink only Cyprus wine, which agrees with me best of any. I therefore provided myself with several dozens of it, and this villain has drunk up the whole. But I will be revenged on him. I have ordered him to be bound hand and foot, and carried to the man-of-war that sails with us. The rascal should have taken care not to serve me so, for I never forgive." "Then I hope, Sir," said Wesley, "that you never sin." The General at once put his hand into his pocket, and took out a bunch of keys, which he threw to Grimaldi, saying, "There, take my keys, and behave better for the future."

After the long passage across the Atlantic, the sight of land was more than welcome. Wesley says: "The groves of pine along the shore made an agreeable prospect, showing, as it were, the verdure and bloom of Spring in the depth of winter." After a night of quiet rest, they went ashore on a small island, where they all knelt and returned thanks to God for their safe arrival. Then, leaving the party, the General proceeded to Savannah, where he was received with an enthusiastic welcome. But his first

care was to provide for the emigrants; as soon as possible he sent them refreshments and provisions, and, shortly after, visited them himself, carrying a supply of beef, pork, venison, and wild turkeys, together with vegetables of various kinds, which were not only grateful to those who had been so long confined on shipboard, but an encouraging sign of what abundance could be found in a region which had been settled but three years.

In some respects, he was doomed to disappointment and vexation. Before he returned to England, he had made a contract, and provided materials for the construction of a lighthouse; but, on his return, he found that the work had been entirely neglected, which was owing in part to unfaithfulness and want of energy in the contractor, and in some measure to the use of ardent spirits, which had been introduced in defiance of the law. It was a disappointment also to find that the Germans were not disposed to proceed to the south, to make a settlement on the frontier of the province, which was the chief object of the expedition, some because they apprehended trouble from invasion, war being against their conscience, and others from a desire to enjoy the services of the clergymen who were settled at Ebenezer. There was some uneasiness also in that Moravian colony. The pastors came to Savannah with the petition of the people for leave to remove, for reasons which do not all appear. Their complaint was, that the land was poor, and that the corn harvest had failed; but they evidently abounded in everything, and their patient industry had already made the wilderness

blossom like the rose. The General was not disposed to deal hardly with so valuable members of society; and, after strongly advising them to remain, but to no purpose, he consented to their forming a new settlement on the Savannah River.

In Savannah and its immediate neighborhood, the aspect of things was promising. There, too, was discontent; but it might be traced to the improvident and the idle, who found it as difficult to prosper without labor there as everywhere else in the world. In the town, about two hundred houses had been built, many of them much larger than the one inhabited by the Governor, which was of the small dimensions first erected. They stood on lots sixty feet wide by ninety deep, a size which gave room for ornamental cultivation, and secured the town from the danger of spreading fires. The rent of the best was thirty, and that of the poorest, ten pounds. Large squares were left at proper intervals; and these, as well as the streets, were shaded with trees. The botanical garden was situated at the east of the town, on the sloping bank, and included the alluvial ground below. It supplied the settlers with such vegetables and seeds as were necessary for the cultivation of their own grounds; there was also an extensive nursery of fruit-trees connected with it; on the borders of the walks were orange, olive, and fig-trees, pomegranates, and vines. In the warmest part was a collection of tropical plants, such as coffee and cotton, cultivated, by way of experiment, to ascertain what the climate would allow. Various specimens were furnished, some by Mr. Eveleigh, a public-spirited merchant of Charleston, and others by Dr. Houston,

from the Spanish West Indies, where he was sent by Sir Hans Sloane and others to collect and transmit them to Georgia. Great pains were taken to cultivate the tea plant, but entirely without success.

Large squares in the garden were planted with mulberry-trees, and worms were fed and silk produced without difficulty; but there was much trouble with the Indians, one of whom stole the machines, broke the apparatus and the eggs which he could not carry away, and fled to South Carolina. Those who continued faithful had saved a few eggs; but the work was necessarily suspended for the year.

A party of Highlanders, who had settled on the Altamaha River, were obliged to abandon their garrison, by the want of supplies and communication with Carolina. The General sent a party of rangers to their aid, and, to prevent a repetition of the difficulty, surveyors to mark out a road from Savannah to the Altamaha. Tomo Chichi furnished them with Indian guides. That chief, together with Scenauky, his wife, and other attendants, paid a visit to the General on board the ship, bringing a present of venison, milk, and honey. They informed him that the Uchee Indians made loud complaints of planters, with negroes and cattle, coming into their country in defiance of the terms of the treaty; to which he replied by a written order to the public authorities to give warning to such offenders, and to seize their slaves, if they did not remove within three days. At the same time, the law of Parliament, in relation to the subject, was sent, with directions to publish it to all concerned.

All this while, the General was impatient to proceed with the establishment of the new town near the southern frontier of the province, for which purpose the last emigrants had come. He was apprehensive lest the Spaniards might proceed against the Highlanders there, if they were not supported; and much damage of goods and danger of sickness might also arise from delay. The captains of the ships did not like to encounter the dangerous navigation near the islands. He, therefore, bought the cargo of the sloop *Midnight*, on condition that it should be delivered at a station near the Altamaha River. He went himself, in the scout-boat, which was a sort of revenue cutter, of so light draught that it could venture through the channels between the mainland and the islands, while the sloop was to follow, more at leisure, with arms, ammunition, intrenching tools, and efficient men. The scout-boat being moved with oars as well as sails, they went forward without delay, the men being anxious to please the General, who supplied them liberally, without regard to his own wants. The Indians, also, begged leave to do their part. They soon arrived at the Island of St. Simons, where the new settlement was to be made. As soon as they could land from the scout-boat and the sloop, which arrived at about the same time, they immediately commenced their labor. The long grass was removed by fire, booths were erected and thatched with palmetto leaves, for a temporary lodging, and, as they were not without apprehensions of danger, a fort with ditches and ramparts was at once begun. This was the foundation of the town of Frederica.

When these things were planned and set in order, he went to visit Darien, a settlement of the Highlanders, about ten miles from Frederica, on the northern branch of the Altamaha River. The Highlanders received him in military array, making an imposing appearance with their plaids and broadswords. In compliment to them, he wore a similar dress, and gratified them, also, by his hardy habits of exposure; since, instead of accepting the comfortable lodgings prepared for him, he wrapped himself in his plaid at night and slept upon the ground. He found the people prosperous and contented; their minister, Mr. McLeod, was devoted to his religious concerns, and would have nothing to do with any other. They were greatly delighted to find that they were to be sustained by a new town so near them, and also that a road was to be made, by which they could communicate with Savannah; for, however fearless, they were few in number, and their dangers were of a kind which they could not meet alone.

One who accompanied the Governor in this expedition describes Frederica as situated on the Island of St. Simons, on the middle of a field of the Indians, where they had cleared and cultivated about forty acres. The open ground, on which the town stood, was bounded by a small wood towards the east, on the other side of which was a fine savanna of about two hundred acres, affording food for their cattle. On the south were woods consisting of red bay and live-oak trees, which were reserved for the public service, while those on the north were set apart for the purposes of fire and building.* The settlers were

* "Georgia Historical Collections," Vol. I. p. 115.

greatly delighted with the rich forests, which abounded with water-oak, laurel, bay, cedar, gum, sassafras, and, above all, with the live-oak, an ever-green of great beauty for shade, and invaluable for ship-building. In this region they were also encouraged, by seeing the abundance of vines in the woods, to hope that much might be done in the production of wine. The forests abounded with deer and rabbits, raccoons and squirrels. Game was also found in great plenty on the islands, and still more so on the mainland, such as the wild turkey, so called from the strange notion that it came from the country whose name it bears, the partridge, the turtle-dove, the rice-bird, the bobolink of New England; while the red-bird and the mocking-bird filled the air with strains of wild music, such as they had heard in no other land.

CHAPTER VI

Settlement of Rights and Boundaries.—Hostilities apprehended.—Oglethorpe's Influence with the Indians.—Hostile Purposes laid aside.—Difficulties with Carolina.—Spanish Commissioner.

THERE was an occasional threatening of difficulty with the Spaniards, respecting boundaries, as early in the history of the settlement as this. There were four nations of Indians, the Choctaws, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, and the Creeks, in the neighborhood; the last of whom came most directly in contact with the Europeans. The sovereignty of the country was claimed by Great Britain, in consequence of the discovery by Sir Walter Raleigh; but no possession was taken of any part of it without obtaining the consent of the Indians. In the treaty of 1670, Carolina, as granted to the English, extended to St. John's River, with the exception of several islands and some tracts on the mainland, which the Indians reserved to themselves; and there was an express understanding that no private Englishmen should establish themselves anywhere to the south or west of the Savannah River, without asking their permission, and giving them sufficient warning.

General Oglethorpe, in his first voyage, had complied with this condition, and secured this grant from

the Indians; and his object now was to know what was granted, and to take a formal possession. When he returned to St. Simons, he found Tomo Chichi, with his nephew Toonahowi, and a party of about forty of their people. An expedition was fitted out, of two ten-oared boats, in which he took the Indians, together with his own attendants, while the Highlanders followed in the periogua, a flat-bottomed boat, with oars and sails, under the command of Captain Mackay.

The first afternoon of their voyage they saw an island, which was called Wissoo or Sassafras by the Indians, and San Pedro by the Spaniards. As a hill in it commanded the passage by which boats might approach from the south, the General thought it necessary to establish a fort there, for which purpose he left the periogua, with the Highlanders. Toonahowi, to whom the Duke of Cumberland had given a gold repeater when he was in England, here drew it out, saying, "The Duke gave us this watch that we might know how time went; we will at all times remember him;" and therefore proposed that the island should bear his name. The General gave the name of Amelia to another large island, south of the former, which was beautiful in appearance, "the sea-shore covered with myrtle, peach-trees, orange-trees, and vines in the wild woods." They rowed across a fresh-water river, and, when they encamped for the night, Tomo Chichi chose a ground free from trees, in compliment to the English, because it was one, he said, in which, if necessary, they could fight to most advantage. Next morning, he

conducted them through several channels till they came to the entrance of the River St. John, which was indicated by two rocks covered with cedar and bay-trees, from the top of which he showed them the Spanish guard, saying, that his purpose was to fall upon them by night, and thus avenge the wrongs of his people. It was with great difficulty that the General could induce him to abandon this purpose, which would scarcely have been consistent with the peaceful design with which he had come.

One of his objects was to inquire concerning a party which he had previously sent to conduct to St. Augustine, Mr. Charles Dempsey, who had arrived in the *Symond*, with a commission from the Spanish minister in London, to confer with the Governor of Florida respecting the boundary between that country and Florida. With this view, he visited the lookout and the guard-house, on the Spanish side, but found them both deserted. In the course of the night, the Indians came to them in a state of furious excitement, saying, that Tomo Chichi had seen the fire of his enemies, and was prepared to take his revenge immediately, first sending word to his English friends, that they might be upon their guard. The General at once set forward in the darkness, and rowed to the place where the Indians were, about four miles distant. By strong appeals to their sense of honor, he prevented the assault for which they were preparing; and by the light of the next morning, it appeared that the supposed enemies were the very escort of Mr. Dempsey, to inquire for which they had come.

This meeting was a pleasant surprise to both parties. Major Richards, who went in charge of the escort, informed the General that he was wrecked on his passage to St. Augustine, with the loss of part of his baggage; he was kindly received by the Spanish Governor, and the necessary repairs of the boat had occasioned his long delay. He brought letters to the General, thanking him for those which had been forwarded by Mr. Dempsey and Major Richards, but complaining bitterly of aggressions made by the Creeks, and intimating that the forts then building by the English would lead to dissatisfaction.

On returning to the place where the Highlanders were left, he was highly gratified to find how much they had accomplished, though they had no engineer to direct their work, and the soil, which was a loose sand, was very unfavorable to their operations. He returned his thanks to them for their zeal in the public service, but they said that, while there was danger, they should consider it a privilege to stay.

On the 25th of April, the General and his party reached Frederica, on their return, and the Indians arrived on the next day. They encamped near the town, and celebrated the successful close of the expedition by a war-dance; after which they were dismissed with presents and thanks for their faithfulness in the service of the King. Notwithstanding the friendly professions in the letters brought by Major Richards, it was ascertained that the Spanish Governor of St. Augustine had sent to buy arms at Charleston, and that he was preparing to arm the Florida in conjunction with the Yamassee Indians,

and to send them, in company with a Spanish force, to dislodge the English from their fortifications. The complaint against the Creeks was made to afford a pretext for this enterprise; and, as the garrison of St. Augustine, already large, was expecting reinforcements from Havana, there was a prospect that the attempt would be attended with success.

This intelligence the General did not communicate to the people; but, not to be wanting in precaution, he determined to arm a *periogua* with four swivels, and to send it to cruise on the River St. John, in company with a scout-boat, to prevent the Indians, who detested the Spaniards, from giving them any just cause of war. This expedition was fitted out with arms, ammunition, tools, and provisions for three months, and was placed under the command of Captain Hermsdorff, who was to leave Major Richards and Mr. Horton, his attendant, at some place on the Florida shore, whence they could proceed to the Governor at St. Augustine, with letters to acquaint him, that, "being greatly desirous to remove all occasions of uneasiness upon the frequent complaints by his Excellency of hostile incursions upon the Spanish dominions, armed boats had been sent to patrol the opposite borders of the river, and prevent all passing over by Indians or marauders." The messengers were also charged to return General Oglethorpe's thanks to him for his civilities, and to express his desire of harmony between the subjects of both Crowns. Meantime, the General took all possible care to strengthen his defences and prevent a surprise. A fort was planned at St. George's, to

command the inland passages. St. Andrew's Fort, on Cumberland Island, was considered strong and efficient, and the works at St. Simons were pressed on with all the force which he could command. The Indians, who were not accustomed to labor, were of great use in supplying the workmen with venison and other fresh provisions from the woods. Several of their chiefs promised to come with their warriors the moment hostilities should begin. Boats were daily arriving from Savannah and Port Royal with the necessary stores; in fact, the whole colony felt deeply interested in his proceedings, there being no doubt, that the Spaniards would lay waste all the settlements, if they should succeed in destroying this.

While the whole neighborhood of Frederica was in this state of excitement, the scout-boat, which accompanied Major Richards, returned with the intelligence, that he, Mr. Horton, and some others, were prisoners at St. Augustine. Captain Hermsdorff, not considering the post at St. George's capable of defence, and fearing a mutiny among his men, was returning, and, if he should be pursued, was very likely to fall into the enemy's hands. It appeared that Major Richards, on his arriving at St. George's, sent over to the Spanish side, according to arrangements made with the Governor; but the promised horses and attendants were not there. In order to save delay, Mr. Horton offered to walk to St. Augustine, the voyage being dangerous, to give notice of Major Richards's arrival. For this purpose, he was landed, and, some days after, two smokes were seen on the mainland, which were the appointed signal;

the boats, being despatched in that direction, returned with the information that a guard and horses were in waiting to conduct the Major to St. Augustine. His officers remonstrated against his putting himself in the power of the Spaniards without security for his safe return; but, neglecting their advice, he went on shore, and was seen to ride away. A few days after, smokes were again seen in the same place; the boat, being sent, returned with a coarse writing, with a lead pencil, in German, purporting to be from Major Richards, and simply stating that he had arrived at the quarters of the Captain of horse. It being clear that nothing could be gained by waiting, Captain Hermsdorff thought it his duty to return for orders.

The General, when he heard of these proceedings, determined to go in person to inquire what they might mean. He embarked in a scout-boat, leaving directions for another to follow. When he came to St. George's, he landed, and found there some works, which he repaired and mounted with cannon. He then set out for the Spanish coast, with a flag of truce, in order to ascertain what had become of his men. For some time, he could find no trace of inhabitants; at last, an armed man was taken by one of his party, who produced a letter from Mr. Horton, giving an account of his arrest. He was rewarded for bringing it, and promised to come for an answer next day. He did not appear; but a Spanish gentleman was found, who promised to deliver letters for the General at St. Augustine, and to bring back the answers. No answers came; and, by this time, be-

ing fully convinced, that the Spaniards were preparing for hostilities, he sent word to the various colonies, and prepared to defend his own to the best of his power.

While his relations with the Spaniards were thus threatening, it required some care to keep on good terms with the Indians. The Uchee chief had come to Frederica with his attendants, having taken some disgust at a proceeding of the Saltzburgers, who had cleared and planted several acres of land beyond the Ebenezer River, without his knowledge and against his orders. But what troubled them most was, that some people from Carolina had crossed the Savannah River with negroes and cattle, and commenced a plantation not far from the Indian town. The General had heard of these things before, and had sent orders to have them remedied. For this the Uchee chief gave him thanks, and said that they loved him for having done them justice; they were ready to help him against the Spaniards, and, if he desired it, they would bring a large body of their warriors, and remain with him till the danger was over. From this it appeared, that the Indians were well-disposed; but the irritation arising from the encroachments of unprincipled borderers, of whom there were many, might at any time inflame their passions, and make them dangerous neighbors, unless the treatment of the English was uniformly kind and just.

The Spanish authorities, however, were not ready to proceed to extremities at this time; thinking, probably, that, in making an assault on the territories of others, they might endanger their own. The Gov-

ernor of St. Augustine, after vainly endeavoring to gather from Major Richards and Mr. Horton information concerning the forts and garrisons of the English, sent a party, under Don Ignatio Rosso, to make a personal investigation, who returned with the information that the islands were strongly fortified and guarded by many armed boats, with great numbers of men. Upon this, it was thought advisable, since invasion might come from the other side, to release the prisoners, and to send them with a friendly deputation to the General, to make all necessary compliments and explanations, and to intimate that these warlike preparations were wholly needless, where both parties were so well-disposed toward each other. The General made preparations to receive the embassy, by appearing with his cavalcade, consisting of seven men and horses, which, says Francis Morse, "were all we had," by drawing up his troops with large spaces between them, and firing the cannon in such a manner, as to give the impression that the batteries were large, which was not difficult, as the Spaniards were received upon another island. They were welcomed in the most hospitable and respectful manner, with entertainments, salutes, and presents.

Some Indian chiefs came in at the time and represented to the Spanish delegates what cruelties had been practiced by the Florida Indians on some of their number. They expressed their abhorrence of such barbarity, and promised that the offenders should be punished as they deserved. To which Hyllispilli, one of the chiefs, gravely replied, in a

manner rather sincere than courtly, "We hear what you say; when we see it done, we will believe you." Notwithstanding these friendly communications, the evidence of warlike preparations on the part of the Spaniards was thought so strong that the works on the islands were not suspended, and no reasonable precautions were laid aside. However interesting and important these works were at that day, time has left few traces of them. Mr. Spalding, in a recent description of the place, says, "Time and the elements, and men in pursuit of other objects, have scarcely left a wreck behind. The wood has been transformed into a cotton-field. The river, driven on by hurricanes, has swallowed up the water batteries and much of the fort. The bricks, too, have been taken away by spoilers, and the tabby * has been sawed into blocks to erect other buildings." †

Some difficulties began to arise, on the other side of the Colony, respecting intercourse with the Indians. When Georgia was made a separate colony, it included in its bounds the Indians west of the Savannah, who had formerly been connected with Carolina. The General had taken care to secure their good-will by making treaties of alliance with them; and, as they had been sorely defrauded in their former traffic with the whites, and had requested that some stipulations should be made respecting the prices, quality, weight, and measure of articles which they sold, it was thought best that

* A composition of oyster-shells and lime.

† "Collections of the Georgia Historical Society," Vol. I. p. 257.

none should be permitted to trade with them without a license, and a pledge that their dealings should be honorable and just. The Carolina traders refused to apply for a permit, or to submit to any restriction; and therefore the Georgia commissary, Captain McKay, would not allow them to reside in the country. They complained to the Assembly of the province of South Carolina, and a committee was appointed to confer with General Oglethorpe on the subject at Savannah. Meantime the excitement increased and spread. The Carolina traders freighted boats with goods to ascend the river to Augusta, thus saving the expense of inland transportation. In passing the town of Savannah, they were seized by the magistrates, who ordered the casks of rum, which made a part of the cargo, to be staved, and the crews to be thrown into prison.

The conference at Savannah ended without giving perfect satisfaction to either party. The magistrates of Savannah acknowledged their error, and made reparation to the traders whose property they had destroyed. But the committee maintained that no charter from the Crown could give the Georgians control over the Indians, who always had reserved their own independence, and had a perfect right to trade with whom they would. Oglethorpe acknowledged that the Indians were independent, and not bound by English laws; but he said that they had entered into treaties with Georgia, and certain regulations had been made, not only with their consent, but at their request; and to enforce those regulations implied no aggression upon the rights or indepen-

dence of the red men. He said that no permit had been refused to any trader who conformed to the regulations, and that the conditions which he made with them were the same with those which Carolina herself had exacted. In case any new regulations were made by Carolina, he promised to add them to the instructions of the Georgia traders; and he would order his officers to make no distinction between the two provinces; but, in order to protect the Indians, it was necessary to require a license, a measure of precaution that could not be abandoned. The only result of the conference was of the practical kind. The navigation of the Savannah River was to be open alike to both parties; the Carolinians promised not to introduce ardent spirits among the settlers in Georgia, and the agents of the latter province were instructed to render their neighbors all the friendly assistance in their power.

After this conference was over, the General returned to Frederica, where he made advances to the Spaniards, and found encouragement to hope that all differences would be adjusted. But, while he was concluding with the Governor of St. Augustine a treaty, which had been made by the intervention of Mr. Dempsey, and on terms favorable to the interests of the Colony, he was arrested by the information that a Spanish commissioner had arrived from Cuba, charged with communications which he was to deliver in person. In the conference which followed, the commissioner required that the English should abandon all the coast south of St. Helena's Sound, which was claimed as belonging to the King of

Spain. He would listen to no argument in support of the English claim, nor would he admit the validity of the treaty just made; but he declared that, unless the territory in question was immediately surrendered, measures would be taken to enforce the demand. Perceiving that the ground thus taken by Spain must necessarily, if persisted in, lead to hostilities, which would greatly endanger the interests of his Colony, the General thought it necessary to proceed immediately to England, to represent to the ministry the state of affairs in America, and to procure that support which the welfare of the settlers and the honor of the nation required. Such representations must be made by some one who had influence; since the government very easily forgot the danger at a distance in their many perplexities nearer home.

CHAPTER VII

Connection with the Wesleys.—Mutual Disappointment.—Wesley's first Effort.—Peculiarities of Manner and Doctrine.—Charles Wesley at Frederica.—Returns to England.

It was during this time of fierce excitement that the Wesleys resided in the colony; a circumstance that must be noted, since Oglethorpe appears to less advantage in his connection with them than in any other part of his history; and it is but just that everything which tends to his excuse and justification should be fully understood. At the same time, it is extremely difficult to sift the truth from accounts so much colored by passion and entangled by art. The principal agents and witnesses were two profligate women, whose reputation was such in England that the General openly expressed his unwillingness to take them to Georgia. By pretending a great interest in religion, they succeeded in going over; but such was their subsequent conduct that, taken in connection with their previous history, no confidence can be placed in statements made by them, unless confirmed by better authority than theirs. One of these vagrants appears to have gained an ascendancy over the mind of Oglethorpe, which she, in her strange communications to Wesley, ascribed to the power of her charms. She used it to estrange him

from the brothers, whom she represented as libellers of his character and conspirators against his power.

To John Wesley, a single-hearted man, whose confidence she gained to some extent by professions of repentance, she represented herself as too intimate with the General on the voyage, being quite willing, apparently, to bring the reputations of others to a level with her own. Wesley evidently believed her communication, and his intercourse with the General became constrained in consequence. What ground there may have been for the charge, it is not easy to say; the authority certainly was not of the highest order; but the biographers of Wesley appear to have thought a faith in it essential to his defence, and would also have it understood that the General employed her frail companion to gain a similar conquest over Wesley; and that, in resentment at the discovery of the plot, he intimated, one day to Wesley, that he could find Indians enough to shoot him for a trifling reward. It is not possible to credit, to any extent, witnesses so self-condemning and abandoned. Wesley himself, in his published *Journal*, has observed a dignified silence on the subject; a course which his ardent friends would have done well to follow, since no injury to the character of others is necessary for the complete defence of his own.

The truth was, that it was a case of disappointment and misunderstanding. The General, though he had a great reverence for religion, and treated it with profound respect on all occasions, had no sympathy with the spiritual character of the Wesleys; he only knew them as zealous and fervent men, who

would be likely to make a deep impression by their preaching, and thus to serve the cause of morals and good order. Dr. Burton, who recommended them to the trustees, thought that their self-denying habits fitted them for the duty, and supposed that they would be willing to follow such counsels as the friends of the colony deemed essential to its welfare.

The trustees, of whom Dr. Burton was one, considered them regularly engaged as chaplains; but they looked upon themselves as at liberty to give their efforts to the conversion of the Indians, or to that work, whatever it was, in which most good might be done. But there were difficulties in the way of this enterprise, desirable though it was, so that even the Moravians, when he discussed with them the objections to a mission to the Choctaws, thought he should not go. On one occasion, when some Indians had attended a funeral where he prayed, they said they knew that he was speaking to the "beloved ones," to take up the soul of the young woman. They were asked if they would like to know more of the beloved ones. They answered that they had no time but to fight then; if peace should ever come, they would be glad to know. Tomo Chichi explained to him that they did not wish to be made Christians after the Spanish manner; they wished to be instructed before they were baptized; and the same old chief afterwards, when urged to listen to the doctrines of Christianity, showed that he had been observing the lives of Christians, without drawing from the view any inference in favor of their religion. He said, "Why, these are Christians

at Savannah! These are Christians at Frederica! Christian much drunk! Christian beat men! Christian tell lies! Devil Christian! Me no Christian!"

Wesley's preaching at Savannah seemed at first to be crowned with great success. A deep impression was evidently made. When the church and the ball-room were open on the same evening, the latter was almost deserted. Not satisfied with awakening their religious affections, he made war on all the vanities of the world. He was told that he would find as well-dressed an audience in Savannah as those which he saw in London. He did so, and at once took occasion to speak freely on the subject of dress; some were offended, doubtless; but an evident change was made, not only in this respect, but in the solemnity with which the service was attended. In other places, he taught the same lesson of plainness and simplicity; his friend Delamotte instructed a school, where some boys, who wore shoes and stockings, assumed a superiority to those who were not so well provided. Wesley requested leave to teach the school, and went into it without shoes or stockings. Under such countenance, the bare-footed party rallied, and pride, at least in that form, was driven from the school. These proceedings were new and strange to many of the Colonists, who had only expected the chaplain to conduct them through the easy forms of devotion. Still none could charge him, in this, with any departure from the path of duty.

But there was another respect in which there were more grounds for the charge. He says, in a letter to Mr. Hutcheson, that he had changed his opinion

on the subject of clerical duty; for once he thought it his whole duty to preach the gospel, but he was now persuaded, that, under certain circumstances, secular matters might come under his charge.* He thought it his duty, therefore, to take an interest in the controversy between Georgia and South Carolina respecting trade with the Indians; but this would have occasioned no excitement if he had not brought his lessons upon civil rights and duties nearer home. He not only preached upon the duty of resistance to public authority, in the case of individuals making themselves judges of their own rights, but spoke in the court against the proceedings of the magistrates in such a manner as to inflame the passions of the people.† This, doubtless, was the reason which tended most to disaffect the General toward him; since, in a community made up of such elements, there was difficulty enough in enforcing the laws before; and the magistrates apprehended personal violence with such a champion on the disloyal side. The public officers gradually discontinued their attendance at church; his interest in secular affairs, though it employed little of his time, impaired his religious influence; he lost the power over the conscience which he had at first exerted; and, with the utmost self-devotion of spirit, felt that he was accomplishing little in the service of his Master.

The prejudice against Charles Wesley, who was stationed at Frederica, was equally strong. It might

* Moore's "Life of Wesley," Vol. I. p. 245.

† Stephens's "Journal of Proceedings in Georgia," Vol. I. p. 19

have been supposed that his amiable spirit and gentle sincerity would have disarmed all enmity; but the settlement was composed of rough and restless materials; and his reproofs of sin, however kindly given, were deeply resented. Some of the women who accompanied them on the voyage were jealous and quarrelsome; and, unfortunately for his own comfort, he endeavored to reconcile them to each other. He only succeeded in uniting them against himself; and they used every effort to injure him in the opinion of the General, who resided at Frederica, for the time, and who, in his vexation at seeing the dissension increase, which he trusted the minister of the gospel would allay, was too easily led to believe these injurious representations. One of the vagrant women, of whom mention has been made, was his chief enemy; and, as her social position was higher than her moral standing, she was able to injure him more than would have been possible under other circumstances and among a more established people.

He soon began to perceive that the General was alienated from him; and everything tended to increase the difficulty. While Oglethorpe was absent with the Indians, the doctor thought proper to shoot during the service on the Sabbath, which was contrary to the General's orders, and for which the constable arrested him. This was charged to Wesley, who was assailed with all manner of abuse for it, and the excitement spread till the whole town was in arms. When the General returned, he was told that Wesley had stirred up sedition among the people, endeavoring to persuade them to leave the place.

He sent for Wesley, and stated the charge to him, saying that he should have no scruple at shooting the insurgents, but out of regard he had spoken to him first. Wesley intimated to him what the character of his accusers was, and suggested to him that, if he showed any disinclination to finding him guilty, it would materially affect the confidence with which the charge was made. He took the hint, and the accusation dwindled at once to the assertion that the minister had caused the disorder, by forcing men out to prayers against their will. It was clear that there was no foundation for any reproach; but the General, adverting to it afterwards, asked him how it was that "there was no love, no meekness, no true religion, among the people; but, instead of it, mere formal prayers." Wesley told him that the absence of the reality was not owing to the abundance of the forms; for there were seldom more than six people at prayers. Still the General had the impression that, if the clergyman pursued a judicious course, it would be impossible for such disorders to attend his labors.

About this time, John Wesley, relieved by Ingham at Savannah, came to visit his brother. By his offices, the way was opened for reconciliation with the General, who sent for Charles Wesley, and said to him, among other things, "You will soon see the reason of my actions. I am now going to death; you will soon see me no more. Take this ring, and carry it from me to Mr. V. His interest is next to Sir Robert's; whatever you ask, he will do for you, for your brother, and your family. I have expected

death for some days. These letters show that the Spaniards have long been seducing our allies, and intend to cut us off at a blow. I fall by my friends, on whom I depended to send their promised succors. I will pursue all my designs, and to Him I recommend them and you." He then gave him a diamond ring. Wesley took it, and said, "If I am now speaking to you for the last time, hear what you will quickly know to be a truth, as soon as you are entered on a separate state. This ring I shall never use for myself; I have no worldly hopes; I have renounced the world; life is bitterness to me. I came hither to lay it down. You have been deceived as well as I. I protest my innocence of the crimes I am charged with, and think myself now at liberty to tell you what I thought never to have uttered." The explanation which he made satisfied Oglethorpe of the injustice of his suspicions; he said that they were entirely removed. He then embraced and kissed Wesley with cordial affection, and they went together to the boat. A mourning sword was brought to him twice, which he refused to take; at last they brought him his own, which had been his father's. "With this," said he, "I was never unsuccessful." When the boat put off, Wesley ran along the shore to see him for the last time. Oglethorpe stopped the boat, and asked if anything was wanted. Wesley said, "God is with you; go forth *Christo duce, et auspice Christo*." He answered, "You have some verses of mine; you there see my thoughts of success." The boat soon disappeared, and Wesley remained praying that God would save him from

death, and wash away all his sins. This singular scene shows that the General was laboring under depression, if not disease, of mind, and this may in part explain his treatment of Wesley, which was so unlike the other actions of his life.

After a few days the General returned. The fleet, which had threatened the coast at the time, was driven off by stress of weather, and the danger thus averted. Charles Wesley says, "I blessed God for still holding his soul in life. In the evening, we took a walk together, and he informed me more particularly of our past danger. Three large ships and four smaller had been seen for three weeks together at the mouth of the river; but the wind continuing against them, they were hindered from making a descent till they could stay no longer. I gave him back his ring. 'I need not, indeed I cannot, tell you, Sir, how joyfully I return this.' 'When I gave it you,' said he, 'I never expected to receive it again, but thought it might be of service to your brother and you. I had many omens of my death; but God has been pleased to preserve a life, which was never valuable to me; and yet, in the continuance of it, I thank God, I can rejoice.' He appeared full of tenderness to me, and passed on to observe the strangeness of his deliverance, when betrayed on all sides, without human support, and utterly helpless. He condemned himself for his late anger, which he imputed to want of time for consideration. 'I longed, Sir,' said I, 'to see you once more, that I might tell you some things before we finally parted. But then I considered, that, if you died, you would know them

all in a moment.' 'I know not,' said he, 'whether separate spirits regard our little concerns; if they do, it is as men regard the follies of their childhood, or as I my late passionateness.' " Henry Moore, Wesley's biographer, asks: "Could these words be uttered by any man of understanding, who believed the Christian revelation?" Why not?

Wesley continues: "April 30th, I had some further talk with him; he ordered me everything he could think I wanted, and promised to have a house built for me immediately." But his office of secretary was not to his taste, and he took the earliest opportunity to resign it. The General regretted his purpose, saying: "I am satisfied of your regard for me, and your argument, drawn from the heart, is unanswerable; yet I would desire you not to let the trustees know your intention of resigning. There are many hungry fellows ready to snatch at the office; and, in my absence, I cannot put in one of my own choosing. Perhaps they may send me a bad man; and how far such a one may influence the traders, and obstruct the reception of the gospel among the heathen, you know. I shall be in England before you hear of it; and then you may either put in a deputy or resign." The General then sent him with despatches for England; but the vessel, having an unfit captain, and meeting with stormy weather, was obliged to make for Boston, so that he was about three months on his way to England.

In all the history of Charles Wesley, in Georgia, there is nothing which brings a shadow of reproach on his fair fame. He was earnest and faithful

among a people who were not disposed to profit by his services. Undoubtedly he was disappointed to find so little Arcadian simplicity in the new lands beyond the sea, but evidently, in a difficult position, he did his best; and what more could be required? From the history of their connection, it is easy to see how the General was beset with perplexity and trouble. He, too, looked for something like simplicity of heart and kindness of feeling among the emigrants; but he found only bitterness and dissension, and was constantly stunned with complaints within, while he was threatened with dangers from abroad, which he saw no way to meet. His delusion, with respect to Wesley, evidently grew out of the depression which this state of things occasioned; and it should be remembered, that he was ready to acknowledge his error, and to receive his former friend to his full confidence again, which is by no means common with men high in station and almost unlimited in power.

CHAPTER VIII

Difficulties encountered by John Wesley in Georgia.—He returns to England.

WHILE Charles Wesley was suffering at Frederica, in the manner just described, the early prospects of his brother John at Savannah were far more encouraging. His great ability could not fail to make a strong impression on those who did not understand his lofty conscientiousness and self-devotion. Neither could they help respecting the apostolical zeal with which he forded rivers, crossed swamps, slept on the ground, and exposed himself to all kinds of hardship in the service of the Cross. In the times of greatest opposition he was more than hated; but his strong heart, confirmed by religious feeling, sustained him under such discouragement, while what his brother Samuel called his "iron body" enabled him to go through with his incessant labors. The great purpose of his life was expressed in these lines, written at Savannah in the year 1736.

"Is there a thing beneath the sun
That strives with Thee my heart to share?
Ah! tear it thence, and reign alone,
The Lord of every motion there."

The same disinterestedness which shone through all his life appeared in his conduct there. A salary of fifty pounds was allowed for his support, which he

had resolved not to accept; but his brother Samuel represented that this would be unjust to those who might come after him, and, on that account, he consented. When he had been a year in Georgia, he sent to the trustees an account of his expenses for that time, including those of Delamotte, which, exclusive of building and journeys, amounted to a little more than forty-four pounds. Yet he felt obliged afterwards to write to the trustees to defend himself against the charge of appropriating money to his own use; a charge which nothing but the wildest malice could have brought against him.

The thing which has been made the most serious reproach to him at the time, and in later years, grew out of his connection, such as it was, with Sophia Hopkins, whom Southey by mistake calls Sophia Causton, because she was the niece of Mr. Causton, a leading magistrate at Savannah. She is described as graceful in person and fascinating in her manners; and it is said, probably on no other authority than conjecture, that the General was desirous that Wesley should marry her, hoping that it would make him more practical in his ideas of religious duty, by bringing him more under social influences, and into communication with other men. But, setting aside this gossip, in which this history abounds, it is certain that she desired to make a conquest of him, whether from vanity or real interest it is not easy to tell. She was introduced to him as one who was sincerely asking the way to eternal life, and under various pretexts contrived to be often near him, and to lay siege to his heart.

On one occasion, the General invited him to dinner, and told him that many, judging from his habits of life, thought he considered the use of wine and animal food unlawful. To convince them that such was not his reason, he took a little of both; the consequence of which was a fever that confined him for some days. She attended him day and night, entirely against his will, but with a watchful tenderness, which a person unused to such kindness, and naturally warm-hearted, would be likely to feel deeply. She suited her dress to his well-known taste for neatness and simplicity, and manifested that interest in religion which, more than anything else, was likely to awaken sympathy in him. She thus succeeded, to a certain extent, in inspiring attachment, and the great question with his biographers has been, whether it partook most of the nature of gratitude or love. Those who take the unfavorable view, like Southey, believe that he was desirous to marry her, and that he afterwards resented her giving herself to another while he was making up his mind. His friends, on the contrary, take a view more consistent with his character and the circumstances as they appear; which is, that he was interested in her in consequence of the interest she had shown in him. He was doubtful whether he ought not to make the offer of his hand; but, at the same time, he was not fully convinced of the depth of her religious feeling, and dared not flatter himself that she would be a fit companion in his religious life and duties. Supposing his mind to have been in this state, his conduct becomes perfectly clear; his heart was interested in

her more than his judgment could approve; and with him it was a question of duty, whether gratitude and the interest which he seemed to have inspired in her required him to marry her, or whether he should disappoint her expectation, resist his own desire, and keep himself free for the service of his God.

His friend Delamotte, having no attachment to blind him, was aware of the unsoundness of her religious professions, and saw how much the welfare of his friend was endangered by her art. He therefore explained to Wesley what he thought of her, and asked him if he had determined to make her his wife. He was not prepared to reply; but, thinking Delamotte might be prejudiced against her, he called on the Moravian Bishop, a single-hearted man, and asked his opinion. "Marriage," said he, "you know, is not unlawful; whether it is now expedient for you, and whether this lady is a proper wife for you, ought to be maturely weighed." Finding himself unable to decide, he applied to the elders of the Moravian church. When he entered into the house where they were met together, the Bishop said, "We have considered your case. Will you abide by our decision?" After some hesitation, he answered, "I will." "Then," said the Bishop, "we advise you to proceed no further in this business." To which he replied, "The will of the Lord be done." The reason of this reference evidently was, that they could judge better than he concerning her character, and the extent to which he was bound to her. As to the former, he labored under doubts, which he could not remove; but, if others thought him under obligation,

he was ready to offer himself; and certain it is, that, had he consulted his inclination merely, he would have done it before.

The official biographers of Wesley think it necessary to implicate General Oglethorpe in this matter, as if he had nothing to do, in those stirring times, but to arrange a little intrigue of this description. The whole charge against him rests, as before, on the testimony of one of those vestals, who have appeared so often. She said to Wesley, that Oglethorpe had laid this plot to cure him of his enthusiasm; adding, "I have been urged to that behavior towards you, which I am now ashamed to mention. Both Miss Sophia and myself were ordered, if we could but succeed, to deny you nothing." How probable it was that the General would give such orders to ladies, and what sort of a lady it was that could make such a communication, the reader can easily judge. It was evidently part of a system, diligently pursued by his female enemies, to embroil him with the General, and to drive him from the colony if possible. Dr. Whitehead, on the contrary, thinks it necessary to lay Wesley under some reproach, saying: "I cannot help thinking it would have been more to the reputation of themselves [the official biographers and Mr. Wesley] to have openly avowed the fact, that he did intend to marry Miss Causton, [Hopkins,] and was not a little pained when she broke off the connection at last." But it has been sufficiently shown that, much as he desired to marry her, he did not intend it, unless he was bound to it in honor; and that his pain arose, not from the circumstance

that she married another, but from his doubts whether her character was what it should have been, and her professions sincere.

There was no danger of any heart-breaking on the lady's part; and the sympathy manifested by Southey and others seems to have been needlessly bestowed. It was on the 4th of March that their intimacy ceased, and four days after she engaged herself to Mr. Williamson, and on the 12th of the same month they were married.

The matter, however, was not destined to end here. A few months after her marriage, Wesley mentioned to her some things which he thought reprehensible in her conduct. "No man but Wesley," says Southey, "would have done so after what had passed between them; but at this time his austere notions led him wrong in everything." Here the biographer assumes that the things which he found fault with were trifling improprieties of behavior; and if so, his remark might have some foundation. But this does not appear; it is not likely that Wesley would have interfered, except under a stern sense of obligation. The only thing which throws light upon the subject is a remark of Grahame, that "he was threatened with both civil and criminal process for refusing to administer the communion to a notorious adulteress." * To whom but Mrs. Williamson could this remark be meant to apply? That historian says that the private journal of Charles Wesley was submitted to him by his surviving daughter, Sarah, and the reader is left to infer that this was a part of the

* Grahame's "History of the United States," Vol. III. p. 200.

information which it contained. Certainly, if it was so, and even if John Wesley had reason to suppose her guilty of that sin, it affords a full explanation of his proceeding, and shows the painful necessity, and, at the same time, the generous forbearance, of the course which he pursued.

The lady was, naturally enough, troubled under these circumstances; but the unpopularity of the clergyman induced many others to take up the cause, which she perhaps would have forborne to press; particularly her husband, who was determined to carry it through. Wesley, not to bring her to open shame, took ground upon the rules of the church, which require that those who intend to partake of the communion shall signify their purpose to the curate beforehand; and that, if any has done wrong, the curate shall warn him not to come to the table till he declares himself to have repented. As, in compliance with the latter of these rules, he had communicated with her on the subject, and had received no satisfaction, and as she had given him no notice of her design to communicate, after long neglecting the table, he repelled her from the communion, as he thought himself in duty bound.

There was an obvious reason why those who sympathized with Mrs. Williamson should be silent concerning the real cause of this exclusion, and ascribe it to a spirit of revenge. Mr. Causton was so much excited as to read to all who would hear them passages of Wesley's former letters to his niece, chosen in order to sustain this view of the subject. Wesley, meantime, expressed feelings not very likely to be

associated with angry passion. "I sat still at home, and, I thank God, easy, having committed my cause to Him; and remembering his word, 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.'" But his enemies were active, and, the day after her exclusion, a warrant was served upon him, and he was carried before the recorder and magistrate of Savannah, on the charge of Williamson, first for defaming his wife, and secondly for repelling her, without cause, from the communion. To the first charge he opposed his denial, and the second being an ecclesiastical matter only, he denied the power of the court to call him to account. He was told, nevertheless, that he must appear before the next court; but when Williamson desired that bail should be given, he was told that Mr. Wesley's word was sufficient. Mr. Causton demanded of him that he should state before the court the reasons for his proceeding as he did; but Wesley said that he apprehended injurious consequences might arise from his doing so, and it would be better that the whole subject should be laid before the trustees.

As Mr. Stephens testifies, this matter was the chief subject of interest in Savannah and filled it with scandal and strife.* At the request of some of the communicants, Wesley drew up a short statement, which he read after evening prayers. By way of reprisal, Mrs. Williamson made an affidavit, in which she stated that Wesley had offered himself to

* Stephens's "Journal," Vol. I. pp. 36-47.

her many times, and been rejected, which certainly was untrue. He desired a copy of it, and was told by Mr. Causton that he could find it in any paper in America. A grand jury was summoned, consisting of fifty persons, instead of fifteen, the usual number. One of them was a Papist; one a Frenchman, who did not speak English; fifteen were dissenters, and therefore not the proper judges of church discipline; and many were professed enemies of Wesley, who had publicly threatened him with revenge. Causton addressed this singular body in a speech exhorting them to resist all spiritual tyranny, and furnished them a list of grievances, which, with some small alterations, was handed in as a true bill. It contained ten counts, one of which was for writing and speaking to Mrs. Williamson without her husband's consent, another for excluding her from the communion, and all the rest related to his discharge of clerical duties.

Mrs. Williamson was examined and testified that she had no objection to make to Mr. Wesley's conduct before her marriage. Mr. Causton, on examination, acknowledged that if Mr. Wesley had asked his consent for his niece, he should not have refused it; while Mrs. Causton testified what was most to the purpose, from which it appeared that it was *at her desire* that Wesley had written to Mrs. Williamson that warning respecting her conduct which was ascribed to revenge, and from which all the tumult arose; a fact by which Wesley might at any moment have justified himself, but which his delicacy induced him to conceal. By this time, it was tolerably clear

that nothing would be made out against Wesley; and that so numerous a grand jury might not come together for no purpose, they took occasion to enter into an investigation of the whole public history of Mr. Causton himself, for which purpose they summoned witnesses; but this course was so unpalatable to him that he immediately adjourned their meeting to a future day.

When Wesley appeared before the court, he declared that, as nine of the counts in the indictment related to ecclesiastical matters, they did not come under the cognizance of that tribunal. But the tenth, concerning his writing and speaking to Mrs. Williamson, was of a secular nature, and on that charge he desired to be brought to trial. He urged this with much earnestness, saying: "Those who are offended with me may then see whether I have done wrong to any one; or whether I have not rather deserved the thanks of Mrs. Williamson, Mr. Causton, and the whole family." By this time, twelve of the grand jury were moved to draw up a protest against the proceedings of the majority, to be forwarded to the trustees; but it was in vain that he demanded a trial; again and again he appeared; but as often the case was put aside and his claims disregarded. The object evidently was to wear out his patience till he should leave the colony, without that public recognition of his innocence which he had a right to demand.

After some months spent in this way, he determined to return to England, and he set up a notice in the public square requesting all who had borrowed his books to return them before he left the country.

To keep up appearances against him, the magistrates required security for his answering in court, and published orders to constables and sentinels to prevent his leaving the colony; orders, however, which were not meant to be obeyed. He went to a happier home and a more extended field of labor; but, though some have represented this early part of his history as not in harmony with his later life, it will be found, on examination, that he was spiritual, conscientious, and devout, as in later years; and there can be no doubt that the harvest which Whitefield, his active and intrepid successor, reaped in Georgia, was owing, in a great measure, to seed which Wesley had sown.

This account of the Wesleys has been presented somewhat at large, because they have been unreasonably censured, and quite as injudiciously defended, by those who think it necessary to destroy the General's reputation in order to vindicate theirs. It will be remembered that Charles Wesley had finished his course in Georgia in the preceding year. Whatever John Wesley ever knew to the General's disadvantage, he must have been acquainted with before the General or he left the country; and yet it appears that, in the Spring of the next year, he writes to him in the following terms, which he could not have used if he had lost his respect for him, or believed him the instigator of pitiful intrigues against him. In a letter to General Oglethorpe, in England, dated February 24th, 1737, in which he alludes to charges made against him, he says: "If, as I shall hope till strong proof appear, your heart was right before God; if it

was your real design to promote the glory of God by promoting peace and love among men, let not your heart be troubled; the God whom you serve is able to deliver you. Perhaps, in some things, you have shown you are but a man; perhaps I myself may have a little to complain of; but what a train of benefits have I received to lay in the balance against it! I bless God that ever you was born. I acknowledge his exceeding mercy in casting me into your hands. I own your generous kindness all the time we were at sea; I am indebted to you for a thousand favors here. Why, then, the least I can say is, though all men should revile you, yet, if God shall strengthen me, so will not I." John Wesley was never suspected of any want of sincerity; and yet, according to some of his friends, he addressed words to a man whom he knew to be corrupt and licentious, and who, he believed, had laid plans to ruin his virtue and reputation, and even had employed others to take his life. Believe it who will.

The journal of John Wesley is silent with respect to these particulars just adverted to. This charge against Oglethorpe is not sustained by him. Grahame says that an aged friend of his was in a company in London, where Wesley first met the General after his return from America; the latter approached Wesley, and respectfully kissed his hand. Sarah Wesley assured him that both her father and uncle always expressed the kindest feelings toward him. His conduct toward them at times in America, they were unwilling to discuss; whenever they referred to it, they spoke of it as an unfortunate delusion, which

was more to be lamented than condemned. Such conduct was certainly honorable; for there is no doubt of his having treated them with unkindness in consequence of the malicious charges of their enemies; and it also gives testimony that, whatever reasons for complaint he might have given, a deep feeling of mutual respect existed. They, doubtless, looked on him as a man of the world, and he regarded them as enthusiasts; but each party did justice to the great merits and virtues of the other.

CHAPTER IX

Whitefield's first Visit to Georgia.—Establishment of his Orphan House.—Oglethorpe returns to England.—Appointed Commander-in-chief of Carolina and Georgia, on the Prospect of a Spanish War, and goes back to Georgia with a Regiment of Troops.

WHEN Charles Wesley returned to England, he encouraged a desire, which the celebrated Whitefield had formed, to preach the gospel in Georgia, believing that his fiery heart and resistless eloquence might be able to deal with obstacles which more quiet spirits were unable to subdue. He addressed him in inspiring words :

“ Servant of God ! the summons hear !
Thy Master calls ! arise ! obey !
The tokens of his will appear ;
His providence points out the way.

“ Champion of God ! thy Lord proclaim !
Jesus alone resolve to know ;
Tread down thy foes in Jesus' name,
And, conquering and to conquer, go ! ”

It was not that Charles Wesley wished to expose others to trials from which he himself had fled. He was himself determined to return, but, much to the disappointment of General Oglethorpe, a dangerous illness prevented. The vessel which carried out

Whitefield was in the Downs on her outward passage, when that in which John Wesley returned was about to anchor on the shore of England. When he arrived in Georgia, he was unpleasantly struck with the aspect of the young colony, and saw that it was quite possible to carry across the deep the same dispositions which had made them unprosperous and unhappy at home. But so far from being discouraged at this, he regarded it as an inspiration to his energies; and he called them to repentance and reformation with a voice of matchless power. He was particularly affected by the condition of the children. The idea of an Orphan House had been suggested to him by Charles Wesley; and, believing this to be the most essential want of the settlement, he set himself about the establishment of one with that force of character which enabled him to accomplish whatever he had at heart. He was delighted with a similar institution of the Saltzburgers, which he saw at Ebenezer. Indeed, everything about the settlement of those industrious and faithful exiles answered to his ideas of a Christian community; and, like Wesley, he thought it a privilege to look to them for instruction and example.

It was not in his nature to rest; and, after visiting the various settlements, where, instead of finding cause for depression, he wondered rather that so much was done, he returned to England, after an absence of less than a year, to receive priest's orders, and to secure funds for the proposed Orphan House. The trustees readily granted five hundred acres of land for the purpose, and, though he insisted on hav-

ing no salary, gave him the living of Savannah. He made public appeals in behalf of the contemplated charity with perfect success. In a little more than three years, he returned to Georgia, where he laid the foundation of the building on the 11th of March, 1742. Afterwards, he exerted himself in its favor, as he travelled through England and America, and had the satisfaction of believing that he had rendered permanent service to the cause of humanity and religion.*

When General Oglethorpe returned to England, in the beginning of the year 1737 he found the English people in a state of sufficient excitement and ready to do all that might be necessary to secure the Colonies from the grasp of Spain. He received the unanimous thanks of the trustees for his services; and, in compliance with his suggestion, the Board petitioned that a regiment might be raised for the defence and protection of Georgia. This was readily granted; and he was appointed General and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Carolina and Georgia; with commission to raise a regiment, consisting of six companies, of one hundred men each, to which a company of grenadiers was afterwards added. In making his appointments, he disdained to sell commissions, according to the usual

*During Whitefield's several visits to America, he formed an intimate friendship with Franklin, who rendered him effectual aid towards collecting funds for his Orphan House. In writing to his brother, August 6th, 1747, Franklin says: "I am glad that Mr. Whitefield is safe arrived, and recovered his health. He is a good man, and I love him."—Sparks's "Works of Franklin," Vol. VII. p. 74.

practice, but appointed men of character and standing, and engaged twenty young gentlemen to serve as cadets, who were afterwards promoted according to their merit, supplying them with what was necessary to pay the fees of their commissions, and provide their outfit as officers; an extent of generosity very unusual in the service at that or any other day. In order to induce the soldiers who might enlist to become settlers, every man was allowed to take a wife with him, with additional pay and rations for her support. Part of the regiment embarked early in the Spring, and arrived at Charleston in May. The remainder sailed in company with the General in the *Hector* and *Blandford* men-of-war, and five transports, which, after a passage of little more than two months, arrived at St. Simons in September of the same year.

His first object was to put every frontier post in a state of defence, assigning different corps for the services to which they were best adapted; some to garrison the forts, some to range the woods, others, light armed, for expeditions at short warning. Vessels were stationed on the coast to give notice of any approach of enemies by sea, as the Spaniards were understood to be preparing a force for embarkation at Havana, and it was supposed that Georgia was most likely to be the point where the blow would fall. The General set the example to the troops of activity and contempt of hardship. He always lay in tents, though the men had houses, or huts, in which they could have fires, which were often needed; he never, in his public capacity, required

others to do or suffer anything where he was not willing to go before and set the first example.

This was not, however, sufficient to prevent all disaffection among the forces. Some appeared to have enlisted with the view of corrupting others. One Shannon, a Catholic, had merited the severest punishment at Spithead, and afterwards at St. Simons; but, instead of suffering death, he was whipped and drummed out of the regiment. General Oglethorpe discovered his true character on the voyage, but was unwilling to take his life. After leaving the army, he endeavored to make trouble with the Indians, but was taken and thrown into prison at Savannah, from which he escaped, and, in conjunction with a Spaniard, murdered two persons at Fort Argyle. For this crime, they were taken at the Uchee town, and brought to Savannah, where they were executed. It appeared that, on the voyage, he had money in plenty, and there was reason to suppose that he was a treacherous agent for others.

Shortly after this, but not in connection with it, another difficulty arose. Some of the soldiers, who came from Gibraltar, had received their provisions for six months, in addition to their pay. When the provisions were exhausted, they were to live upon their pay; but, finding that the supply was spent, they grew discontented; and one of them, bolder than the rest, went up to the General, as he was standing with Captain Mackay, and demanded a renewal of the supply. The General calmly told him that the conditions of their enlistment were fulfilled; and, if they wished for favors, they took the wrong

way to obtain them. The man growing insolent, the Captain drew his sword, which the soldier wrenched from his hand and broke in two, throwing the hilt at him. He then ran to the barrack, where he seized his gun, crying out, "One and all!" upon which five others, who were in readiness, rushed out with their guns, and the ringleader shot at the General. The ball did not take effect, though the powder scorched his face and burned his clothes. He was immediately surrounded by faithful soldiers, who seized the mutineers, and prevented further outrage. They were tried by court-martial, and received sentence of death. Mr. Stephens remarks: "Among other things generally talked of in town, none deserved the like attention as what was told us concerning a late mutiny among the soldiers at Fort St. Andrew; where they attempted openly the life of the General himself, as well as their immediate officer, Captain Mackay. But, by the great presence of mind in the General, and his daring intrepidity, it was happily suppressed, with the loss of one man shot in the scuffle, and divers taken into custody, to meet with their demerits, at a court-martial, hereafter." * It does not appear that anyone was killed on the occasion; but letters at the time from the camp lamented that the General's humanity made him so slow to inflict the punishment of death, when the court-martial had awarded it, and the officers were not secure without that solemn warning.

When the spirit of insubordination was quelled among the troops, and the safety of the frontier pro-

* Stephens's "Journal," Vol. I. p. 326.

vided for, the General took the opportunity to visit Savannah, where many things required immediate attention. He was received with salutes, bonfires, and all testimonies of public rejoicing; but there were some, who, knowing his impartial integrity, could have small share in the general satisfaction. He was informed that the grand jury had made a representation, complaining of Mr. Causton, as arbitrary and partial in his conduct as a magistrate, and corrupt and wasteful in his charge of the public stores. On examining the subject, the General removed him from his office, appointing in his stead Colonel William Stephens, who had been sent over as secretary of the Colony by the trustees, the author of the Journal to which reference has been made, and required Causton to give security for his appearance to answer the charges, by assigning his estate at Oakstead, and his improvements elsewhere. It appeared that the trust funds sent for the support of the Colony had been shamefully wasted.

After remaining about two weeks at Savannah, the General set out for the south; but Mr. Causton, who was employed in making up his accounts, took occasion to intimate that the waste, of which so much had been said, was owing to the General's orders, and he himself was made the sacrifice for crimes of which another was guilty. It was necessary, in the excited state of the Colony, that such insinuations should be contradicted at once; and, therefore, the General returned without delay, reaching Savannah unexpectedly, as the bell was ringing for morning prayers, which he attended. It was well for Causton

that he returned at such an hour ; for, in the evening, he sent for him, and, instead of that severity which might have been expected, from his impetuous nature, under such a provocation, he gently cautioned him to use no more such freedom with his name ; but gave him full permission to produce all his correspondence with him, and recommended to him to lose no time in settling his account, since all delay was giving impressions to his disadvantage.

The General's commission as Commander-in-chief gave him authority in Carolina as well as Georgia. He therefore proceeded to Charleston on the 10th of March, 1739, and on the 3d of April, his commission was read in the General Assembly. On the 11th, he returned to Savannah, where he was concerned to see that disaffection prevailed to a great extent, on account of the necessary burdens and restrictions, and that those who were under the greatest obligations to the trustees were loudest in their complaints against them. Meantime, the hardy Scots at Darien, and the Saltzburgers at Ebenezer, though subject to the same inconveniences, submitted patiently to evils which they knew could not be averted ; and, in general, it was obvious that the dissatisfaction was greatest among the idle and unworthy members of society, who had least claim to forbearance and regard. But Oglethorpe conducted himself with the greatest dignity and moderation ; with all his just reasons for displeasure, he treated them with impartial kindness ; enforcing the laws and protecting the interests of the Colony, but never resorting to any severity where it was not imperatively required.

In all his dealings with the Indians, he had preserved their respect and confidence by his justice and kindness of bearing. Some of the warriors had waited on him with an assurance of their friendship, expressing a desire that he would visit their towns. To make sure of their fidelity, he took a journey to Coweta, one of the towns of the Muscoghe or Creek Indians, where all the chiefs were to hold a council on the 11th of August, exposing himself to hardships which would have been intolerable to any but a man of hardy habits and steady resolution. The way led through a wilderness, where there was no road at all, and often no visible track.

After smoking the calumet, they declared that they remained firm in their faith to the King of Great Britain, and that they would faithfully abide by all the engagements into which they had entered with General Oglethorpe, in the name of the trustees. They renewed the former grants, extending the southern boundary to the River St. John. The General bound himself, on the part of the English, that they should not encroach upon any other lands, and that all the reserved privileges of the Creeks should be faithfully respected, while the trade between them should be conducted with fairness and honor.

This treaty was concluded on the 21st of August, 1739, after which the General with his attendants set out on their return. After enduring the same hardships as before, he reached Fort Augusta on the 5th of September; there he was met by a deputation of chiefs of the Chicasaws and Cherokees, the latter of whom complained that their people had been poi-

soned by the rum sold them by the traders. It appeared, on investigation, that some unlicensed traders had introduced the small-pox among them, and that some of the warriors and others had taken it and died. He succeeded with some difficulty in explaining to them the nature of the disease, and assured them that from licensed traders no such dangers need be apprehended, as they were rigidly examined before they were permitted to go into the Indian country. With his explanations, supported by his well-known character, they were satisfied, and went away in peace.

In the autumn of the same year, Tomo Chichi, the steady friend of the Georgians, died of a lingering illness, though nearly a hundred years of age. He was a man of great intelligence and much generosity of feeling; he had always been liberal in his grants and presents, and had served the Colonists well by his good offices with other Indians. He saw that the interest and welfare of his people required them to keep on good terms with the English, and, with General Oglethorpe for their leader, whom he held in the most affectionate veneration, he knew that the confidence of the weaker party never could be betrayed. He died at his own town, four miles from Savannah, and was sensible to the very last, exhorting his people to maintain their friendly relations with the Colonists, and only regretting his death at the time, because there was a prospect of his being useful against the Spaniards had he lived. He desired that his body might be buried in Savannah, as he had prevailed on the Creeks to grant the land for

the town, and had assisted in laying its foundations. His remains were treated with the utmost respect, and followed to his grave, in the public square, by the General himself, with his officers and the magistrates of the town. The General ordered a pyramid of stone to be erected over him; but a late writer, himself a Georgian, asks the significant question, "Where is his tomb?"

CHAPTER X

War with Spain.—Spaniards land on Amelia Island.—Oglethorpe enters Florida.—St. Augustine invested.—Failure of the Attempt at Assault.—The Fleet fail to coöperate, and the Enterprise abandoned.

THE British minister, up to this time, had been successful in maintaining his policy, which was to secure the prosperity of his country by keeping it at peace with other nations; but the clamors of interest and party prevailed at last against his better judgment, and the nation was hurried into a thoughtless and bloody war. On the 13th of September, news reached the General that the Governor of Rhode Island had issued commissions for fitting out privateers against the Spaniards; and on the 22d, by which time he had returned to Savannah, he received and published similar orders. He was not sorry to be directed to injure the Spanish settlements with all the means in his power; since he had long been persuaded in his own mind that the Spaniards were making preparation and waiting the opportunity to seize the province of Georgia, and thus to deprive his country of all the benefit of his labors.

He saw, however, that he was placed in a difficult and dangerous position, and that it was only by the most diligent efforts he should be able to secure his

people. It was on Georgia that the first vengeance of Spain would be likely to come, and all his military force would hardly be able to resist them. He therefore summoned the Indian warriors to his aid, four hundred Creeks and six hundred Cherokees, to proceed to the southern frontiers. A company of rangers was formed, to prevent invasion by surprise on shore, and also to stop the fugitive slaves from Carolina, who might be passing over to the enemy. At the same time the militia were reviewed, equipped, and put in order to render the best service in their power. But, knowing how little this was, he applied to the Assembly of Carolina for assistance, and suggested to the naval officers on the station the advantage of blockading St. Augustine, before reinforcements and supplies from Havana could reach it.

It was not long before hostilities began. In November, a party of Spaniards landed on Amelia Island, where they secreted themselves till morning, when they fired upon two Highlanders, who went into the woods for fuel, and not only killed them, but mangled their bodies with swords or knives. The firing was heard by the officer in command of the scout-boat, who made signal to the fort, from which a party proceeded to the spot; but it was too late; the Spaniards had already escaped by sea. The General immediately pursued them; but, not being able to overtake them, he crossed the St. John into Florida, charged and defeated the Spanish cavalry, stationed as a guard on that river, and took accurate observation of all the military works of the enemy. Being unable to make himself master of them for

want of artillery, he returned to Frederica, procured the force and cannon which were wanted, took the two forts of Picolata and St. Francis, and made the garrisons prisoners of war.

The prisoners were closely examined respecting the condition of St. Augustine; from them the General learned that the galleys had been sent to Havana for provisions, which were much needed, and that the river and coast were left undefended. He immediately applied to Lieutenant-Governor Bull, of South Carolina, first by letter, and afterwards in person, proposing an expedition against that place, for which the time seemed so favorable. After some delay, an Act was passed by the Assembly for raising a regiment of four hundred men under Colonel Vanderdussen, a troop of rangers, presents for the Indians, and three months' provisions, together with a large schooner bearing twenty-six guns, under the command of Captain Tyrrell. Having made these arrangements, and secured the coöperation of the British Commodore on the station, the General published his manifesto, in which he stated the object of the expedition, and engaged that whatever share of plunder might come to himself should be appropriated to reward those who distinguished themselves, and to support the widows and orphans of those who fell.

After proceeding to the Uchee Town, to request that the chiefs and warriors might be summoned, he returned to Frederica; where having completed the equipment of his forces and provided cannon, stores, and provisions, he took with him four hundred men

and a party of Creeks, and with them passed over into Florida.

His first object was to cut off the communication between St. Augustine and the surrounding country. For this purpose, he took the small fort, called Francis de Pupa, at seventeen miles' distance. Thence he proceeded to Fort Diego, twenty-five miles distant, which he took by a stratagem, which saved the loss of blood; directing his men to show themselves in the woods in such a manner as to give the impression of a great force. The garrison when summoned to surrender did so without delay, only stipulating that they should be treated as prisoners of war, and not delivered into the hands of the Indians, whose revenge for former injuries they had good reason to dread. They delivered up their cannon with the ammunition, but were allowed to keep their baggage; and the planter who had built the fort at his own expense was allowed to keep his plantation and slaves. A garrison of sixty men was left in the fort under the command of Lieutenant Dunbar. Meantime, Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina troops, and Captain McIntosh, with a party of Highlanders, had arrived; while six Spanish half-galleys, armed with long brass nine-pounders, manned by two hundred soldiers, and followed by two sloops laden with ammunition and provisions, had entered the harbor of St. Augustine, increasing the force and means of the enemy so much as to make it very difficult to dislodge them.

There was no hope of succeeding by a siege from the land side, because the force was insufficient, and

pioneers were wanting. The only thing that seemed practicable was a combined assault by land and sea. The General concerted a plan with the naval officers, by which, when they arrived off the bar of the northern channel, he should march up to St. Augustine with his whole force of about two thousand, and that signals should be exchanged to show that each party was ready to begin. On the night of June 4th, he marched, taking and destroying Fort Moosa, three miles from St. Augustine, which he encountered on his way. He made the signal of his own readiness; but it was not answered from the fleet, it having been ascertained on board that, owing to the position of the Spanish galleys, their boats could not reach the shore.

This was a severe disappointment; but the General resolved to secure the benefit of the presence of the fleet, by turning the siege into a blockade, and cutting off all supplies from St. Augustine, both by land and sea. Colonel Vanderdussen was ordered to take possession of Point Quartell, near the mouth of the harbor opposite Anastasia, while Colonel Palmer was ordered to scour the woods, avoiding all conflict with the enemy, and taking all possible precautions against a surprise.

There was a fortification on St. Anastasia, which commanded the entrance to the harbor. It was determined to take possession of this, which would give the smaller vessels admission to the harbor, though the water was not deep enough for the ships. The General took with him the Indians and two hundred soldiers, who were joined by an equal number from

the fleet. The Spaniards were vigorously attacked, and soon defeated; but the possession of the battery proved of little service, from the want of proper materials for the works and the unfitness of their cannon, only a few of those which were promised having yet arrived.

But this success on one side was more than balanced by severe loss on the other. Colonel Palmer, an officer of activity and courage, but imprudent and careless, did not regard his orders, which were to keep in constant motion, and never to rest two nights successively on the same spot. He took his station on the dismantled Fort Moosa, where he was attacked by a party of five hundred men, Spanish, Negroes, and Indians, early in the morning of the 15th of June. He fell at the first fire of the enemy; his men succeeded in retreating through the surrounding force, with the loss of more than half their number. The Highlanders, who were most of them engaged, fought with great desperation. Their chief officer, John More McIntosh, was taken prisoner, and basely treated in the dungeons of Spain, to which he was transmitted. One of the Indians was delivered to the Yamassees to be burned; but General Oglethorpe sent a flag, with a message from a Cherokee chief, with the assurance that if the captive suffered a Spanish prisoner should suffer the same fate. At the General's suggestion, the rule was then established that all Indians taken on either side should be treated as prisoners of war.

Discouraging as the prospect was, Oglethorpe continued to bombard the castle; but some sloops from

Havana, with a reinforcement of men, and supplies of stores and provisions, found their way into the harbor through the narrow channel of the Matanzas, thus cutting off all hope of starving them into submission, and making their strength far superior to his own. As a last resort, then, it was determined that Captain Warren, with the boats from the men-of-war and the Carolina militia, should attack the galleys, while the General should assault the trenches on the land side, for which purpose he collected all his force with ladders, fascines, and all the necessary preparations. Whether the attempt, if made, could have succeeded, is very doubtful. St. Augustine was defended by a castle of stone with four bastions, the curtain sixty yards in length, and mounted with fifty pieces of cannon, sixteen of which were brass twenty-four pounders. The town was intrenched with ten salient angles, on which were cannon. The number of regular troops was thirteen hundred and twenty-four, besides the militia and Spanish Indians. But he was not destined to try the experiment; for, with discretion which always seemed to exceed his valor, the Commodore again thought it prudent to forbear, inasmuch as the hurricane season was approaching, and it was his duty to keep out of the way of danger; a duty which was faithfully performed.

It was obvious that the enterprise must be abandoned, and the General reluctantly consented to retire. He was himself worn down by a fever, and his men were sinking with fatigue. The Carolina troops, dispirited by ill-success, took occasion to march away. By the 4th of July, everything was re-

embarked, and the army returned to Georgia. One of the Indian chiefs, on being advised to retreat with the garrison, said, "No! I will not stir a foot till I see every one of my men marched off before me. I have always been first to go towards an enemy and last to go from them."

The enterprise was unsuccessful, but not without its good results. It placed the Spaniards on the defensive, and thus prevented those incursions into Georgia, for which, it was supposed, they had been preparing, and which, had they taken place, would probably have ruined the Colony, which was already shaken by the discontent and uneasiness of the settlers.

The military reputation of the General did not suffer in consequence of the failure of this expedition, the difficulties of the enterprise being fully appreciated, and his own courage and activity generally known. It was acknowledged, that he endured more hardships than any of his soldiers; and, in every danger, he exposed himself to a double share. It was impossible for him, however, to make his new troops efficient, at so short a warning; and the movements of the naval officers, to which so much of the disappointment was owing, were wholly beyond his control. If reflections had been thrown out against him, he would have been consoled by what was said of him in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Argyle, a great authority in matters of war: "One man there is, my Lords, whose natural generosity, contempt of danger, and regard for the public, prompted him to obviate the designs of the Span-

iards, and to attack them in their own territories; a man, whom, by long acquaintance, I can affirm to have been equal to his undertaking, and to have learned the art of war by a regular education; who miscarried in the design only from a want of the supplies which were necessary to a possibility of success."

The unfortunate result of the expedition to St. Augustine, as usual in such cases, was followed by much recrimination between parties, who had not been too friendly before. It was not owing to any real defect of conduct on his part, but to the resentment occasioned by the terms in which he censured the Carolina troops, from whom he should not have expected the mechanical obedience and efficiency of regular soldiers. There was, indeed, something to censure, both in the supplies furnished by that province, and the behavior of those who were sent; but, perhaps, a commander less impetuous and open-hearted would have remembered that Georgia and Carolina could only sustain themselves by firm union, through the common danger to which they were likely to be exposed. It was found, accordingly, that the latter province was afterwards somewhat cold and unsympathizing when danger threatened the former; though much must be ascribed to a desolating fire, which broke out in Charleston, destroying three hundred of the principal houses, and consuming property to an amount which was estimated at two hundred thousand pounds; which, for a province in that stage of its existence, was a withering blow.

CHAPTER XI

State of Things at Savannah.—Complaints of the Settlers.—Whitefield and his Orphan House.—Troubles with the Spaniards.—Application to South Carolina for Assistance.

THE year 1741 was passed in comparative repose, so far as military operations were concerned; but, as the danger threatened from the south, the General established himself at Frederica, which was then a flourishing place, with about a thousand inhabitants, in order to be near the frontier in case of invasion. He built a cottage on the borders of a broad meadow, near the town, where it was overshadowed with oaks on one side and commanded a rich prospect on the other. Attached to it was a garden, with an orchard for oranges, figs, and vines. The town and its fortifications were in full view from the windows, so that he could enjoy a quiet retreat, and, at the same time, be in readiness for active service at the shortest warning. This cottage, with fifty acres of land connected with it, was all the real estate which he ever held in America. So many recollections of interest are now connected with his name, that it is a subject of regret that the place should have passed into the hands of those who cut down the oaks and changed the beauty of the scene.

At times, he visited Savannah; but there was much in that place to give him dissatisfaction. The

vicinity of South Carolina, where the slaves were to the whites in the proportion of four or five to one, created perpetual uneasiness in those who wished to be relieved from the necessity of labor; and the taste for complaining, once excited, found many subjects for its exercise, since all that the trustees could do in the way of concession only gave the feeling that more might be gained, if they made more importunate demands. Dr. Tailfer was a sort of high priest of insubordination; and every one who was unprosperous, from any cause whatever, was easily persuaded that his depressed circumstances were owing, not to imprudence on his own part, nor to the appointment of Providence, but to the vicious arrangements of the social system established by the trustees, in which, unfortunately, there was just enough of error to give a color of truth to all that they could say against its operations.

Under these circumstances, many were constantly leaving the province, thinking, by removing from Georgia, to escape all their cares and sorrows. On one of his visits, the General was received by forty freeholders; upon which he expressed his joyful surprise to find that there were so many who had not yet run away. One of the leading malcontents was the son of Colonel Stephens, who appears to have had some cause of personal resentment, arising from his connection with some affair in which his agency was misunderstood. But the great evil was that every cause of private dissatisfaction was ascribed to the government, or to the General, and went to swell the list of public wrongs. The hardships of the settlers

were, doubtless, greater than their injuries; but the great privation was that utter exclusion from all concern in public affairs, which certainly was not consistent with the just expectations of Englishmen, and which gave them the feeling that they were anything but free.

The state of morals in Savannah, at the time, was such as is always found in a community which does not prosper. Though ardent spirits were prohibited by law, they found their way into the province, and enabled many to drown at once their conscience and sense of wrong. Colonel Stephens's Journal mentions, as common occurrences, many circumstances of domestic history, which could not be in the same city at the present day; a violation of domestic faith, and open defiance of shame, even in some men of standing, which gives the darkest impression of the state of public morals. The influence of the base women who set themselves in opposition to the Wesleys, bears the same testimony. Such things could not be in that, nor any other place in this country, at the present day.

It is curious to read Colonel Stephens's remarks on Whitefield, who was then preaching at Savannah. The secretary, who was a zealous friend of the church, had no great sympathy with one who cast aside the surplice and made extemporaneous prayers of more than an hour. The preacher threw open contempt upon what had been most respected, inveighing against the writings of Archbishop Tillotson, and saying that "the author of the 'Whole Duty of Man,' he verily believed, had sent thousands

to hell." Regeneration was his subject from Sabbath to Sabbath; he told his hearers that, if they were regenerated, the heat of the sun upon their bodies would not be more evident to them, than the operations of the Spirit upon their souls. He did not confine his labors to the church; knowing that some of the men of influence were living in open defiance of morality and shame, he went into the court and made an address to the grand jury, urging them to present all such offenders, without partiality or fear; since the miserable state of the Colony was doubtless owing to divine displeasure against their sins. In everything he was perfectly unrestrained and independent; he built his Orphan House on a large scale, without taking counsel with any one, and when it was completed, he gathered all orphans into it, whether otherwise provided for or not. There was great complaint that some were thus taken from families where they had been contented and useful. The General wrote that he had misunderstood the orders of the trustees; but he signified at once that he cared not for the General nor any other man, but should do without hesitation what he thought his duty.*

After the late incursion into Florida, the General kept possession of a southern region, which the Spaniards had claimed as their own; and, as they had taken encouragement from the successful defence of St. Augustine, and the well-known dissensions on the English side, it was to be expected that they

* Stephens's "Journal," Vol. II. pp. 257, 270, 294, 308; Vol. III. pp. 77, 98.

would embrace the earliest opportunity of taking their revenge. With this expectation he kept scout-boats always on the watch to give warning of the approach of any vessel to the shore. On the 16th of August, news was brought him that a large ship had come to anchor off the bar. The boat, which was sent out to ascertain its character, reported that it was manned with Spaniards, and appeared to have come with some hostile design. Hearing this, he went on board the guard sloop, taking with him the sloop *Falcon*, which was in the service of the province, and hiring the schooner *Norfolk*, Captain Davis, to accompany the expedition. On board these vessels he placed a detachment of his regiment, amounting to one hundred and thirty men, with their officers. They immediately set off in pursuit of the stranger; but before they came to the bar, they encountered a sudden storm of rain and thunder; and when the atmosphere was clear again the ship had disappeared.

As the preparation had been made, and the fugitive might possibly be overtaken, he sailed with his little fleet along the Florida shore. On the 19th, the *Falcon*, being disabled, was sent back with seventeen of the soldiers; the guard sloop and schooner proceeded on their way. On the morning of the 21st, a ship and sloop were seen at anchor, at some leagues' distance. As there was no wind, the English vessels made their way toward them with oars, when it was ascertained that one was the black Spanish privateer sloop, under the command of a Frenchman, Captain Destrade, who had made several prizes

at the northward; the other was a three-mast ship; both lying at anchor outside the bar of St. Augustine. The General gave orders to board them. They began to fire with cannon and small arms. When the English returned the fire, they slipped their cables, and ran over the bar. The English pursued; but, after engaging them for an hour and a quarter, they were unable to board them, and the enemy's vessels sought protection from the town. The galleys fired upon the English with nine-pounders, without doing them any injury, while the opposite party appeared to be disabled by the fight.

Finding it impossible to reach them, the General came to anchor within sight of the castle, and the rest sailed for the Matanzas; but, finding no vessel there, he cruised off the coast, till he ascertained that no vessel was there, and then returned to his own quarters.

The storm, which had been so long anticipated, burst upon the Colony in the year 1742. The Spaniards had always looked upon it with jealousy and suspicion; and, since the attempt on St. Augustine, and the Indian inroads connected with it, their displeasure had been sharpened into a steady purpose of revenge. For this purpose they fitted out, at Havana, a fleet, said to consist of fifty-six sail, and seven or eight thousand men. The force was probably not quite so great; if it was, it did not all reach its destination; not by any interruption from the English fleet, which, as usual at the time, was out of the way when it was most wanted, but from the effect of a storm, which dispersed the vessels, so that only

a part of the whole number succeeded in reaching St. Augustine. The force was there placed under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, the Governor of that place, who was to conduct the expedition into Georgia.

At the beginning of the summer, the schooner, which was kept constantly cruising on the coast, brought information to the General that there were two Spanish twenty-gun ships, two large privateers, and a great number of smaller vessels filled with soldiers, lying off the bar of St. Augustine. This news was soon confirmed by Captain Haymer, of the *Flamborough* man-of-war, who had fallen in with the armament off the coast of Florida, and had succeeded in driving some vessels on the shore.

As it was evident that the danger was at hand, but not quite certain where the blow would fall, the General wrote to the Commander of his Majesty's ships, which were quietly reposing in Charleston harbor, urging them to hasten to his aid. Lieutenant Maxwell arrived in Charleston, and delivered the letter on the 12th of June. He also sent Lieutenant Mackay to Governor Glenn, of South Carolina, requesting his immediate assistance. This despatch arrived on the 20th of June. But neither party answered the application; the fleet, because it was not their custom to go where their comfort, and perhaps their lives, might be endangered; and the government of the Colony, because they thought it better to fortify their own seaport, and keep their forces at home, than to leave their own province unguarded, for the sake of aiding their neighbors. Perhaps cer-

tain angry feelings had their share in producing this result, which was neither wise nor honorable; since, had Georgia fallen, nothing could have saved South Carolina from a similar fate. In Virginia, a better policy prevailed; the Assembly there resolved, at once and unanimously, to send a naval force to the assistance of General Oglethorpe. It was prepared as soon as possible, but not in time to reach the scene of action before the danger was past.

The fleet made its appearance on the coast of Georgia on the 21st of June. An attempt was made by nine vessels to take possession of the Island of Amelia; but the guns of Fort William, and the guard schooner of fourteen guns, under the command of Captain Dunbar, received them with so warm a fire that their purpose was abandoned. The General thought it necessary, when he heard of this attack, to do something to sustain the fortifications on Cumberland Island; he went, for that purpose, with three boats filled with soldiers, but, in order to reach his destination, was obliged to make his way through fourteen of the enemy's ships. This careless exposure of his own person was one of his defects as a military chief. It answered good purpose in encouraging his men, perhaps; but his courage was unquestioned, and, had he fallen in the fire which was poured upon him, there was no one who could have succeeded to an authority, which, even with his high character, it was difficult to maintain, so that his own death would have brought ruin to his Colony, and injury and dishonor to his country. Happily, he passed safely through the vessels, under the

cloud of smoke, and succeeded in the object of his voyage, reinforcing Fort William with the men and supplies which he withdrew from Fort Andrews, the other fort on Cumberland not thinking them equal to the defence of more than one.

As there was no very flattering prospect of aid from abroad, the General proceeded to make the best of the resources within his reach. He took for the King's service a merchant ship called the *Success*, manned it with the crews of smaller vessels, and placed it under the command of Captain Thompson. The Highlanders were summoned from Darien, together with the rangers and marines, and, on the 28th of June, the Spanish fleet made its appearance off the bar; but the navigation required constant sounding, which delayed them several days; during which time the General was able to organize another company of rangers, and to raise the spirits of his troops by offers of reward, and by manifesting a confidence in his ability to resist the invaders, which probably he did not feel. It was one of those occasions on which his sanguine temper gave him an advantage. It always rose with the exigency; and while in unexciting times it was somewhat hasty, in the presence of great difficulty and pressing danger it was always collected, dignified, and firm.

He was obliged, at this time, to execute as well as give orders; for, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, mentioning his application to Governor Glenn, he says, "Lieutenant-Colonel Cook, who was engineer, and was then at Charleston, hastened away to England; and his son-in-law, Ensign Eyre, sub-

engineer, was also in Charleston, and did not arrive here till the action was over; so that, for want of help, I was obliged to do the duty of an engineer." There was a mystery in this absence, at such a time, which threw a dark shade over the fame of that officer, and no subsequent inquiry tended to remove it. The General was obliged to promote Major Heron to command on the station, raising him to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, his own duties requiring him to visit various places, and to be absent a part of the time.

CHAPTER XII

Spanish Fleet approaches Frederica.—Spaniards fall into an Ambush.—Battle of the Bloody Marsh.—Defeat of the Galleys.—Spy in the Camp.—Breaking up of the Spaniards.

It was on the 5th of July that the Spanish fleet, consisting of three ships of twenty guns, two flat-boats, three schooners, four sloops, with more than twenty half-galleys, with soldiers on board, entered the harbor with a favorable wind and a flood tide. After exchanging a cannonade with the fort for about four hours, they passed the fortifications, and made their way up the river. Their object was to land their men at Gascoigne's Bluff, a peninsula which could not be defended, and it was hoped that the many obstacles of marsh and forest which must be passed over, in order to reach Frederica from it, would prevent the enemy from using it to any great advantage. The distance was but four miles by water from the Bluff to the town; but the course of the river was winding, and, in making the tack which would be necessary, the vessels would be exposed to the fire of the English batteries. A large body of troops, said to be five thousand, which is not probably too large an estimate, were landed at this peninsula, a little below Gascoigne's plantation. A red

flag was hoisted on the mizzen-top of the Admiral's ship, and a battery of twenty heavy guns was immediately erected on the shore.

After the General had done all in his power to prevent the landing of the enemy, and it was found that the fort at Simons had become indefensible, he called a council of his officers, in which it was determined that the fort should be abandoned, the guns spiked, the cohorns burst, and the troops drawn away at once for the defence of the town. They marched immediately to Frederica, and all the soldiers on board the vessels were recalled to the shore. Scouting parties were sent in all directions, to watch the movements of the Spaniards, and all hands were employed in strengthening the fortifications, which, it was supposed, would be assaulted without delay.

The Spaniards made many attempts to penetrate the woods between the Bluff and the town, for the purpose of assaulting the fort; but the services of the Indians, who were most at home in that kind of warfare, were found sufficient to prevent them. There was but one road by which they could advance; it had been cut a part of the way through a tangled and impenetrable forest, and then ran, for some distance, with the deep forest on one side and a miry marsh on the other. It was a narrow path, through which only two could move abreast, and it was impossible to take either cannon or baggage with them. As often as they attempted this passage, they were intercepted by an ambush, either of Highlanders or Indians, till the men were discouraged, openly declaring that no earthly powers could force

their way to Frederica, whatever those of darkness might be able to do.

On the 7th of July, a scouting party fell in with and made prisoners of some Spaniards, who had been sent to explore the road in question. They gave the information that the Spanish army was in motion, which news was sent by an Indian runner to the General, who sent Captain Dunbar, with a company of grenadiers, to join the regular troops, while he himself followed with the Highlanders and Indians. With this force, he encountered the enemy, who had already proceeded about half-way from their camp toward the town, and, assaulting them with great spirit, soon put them to the rout, with the loss of forty of their Indians and one hundred and forty of the best of their troops, who were accustomed to fighting in the woods. Two of them he took prisoners with his own hands; Captain Sachio, who commanded the party, was also taken by Lieutenant Scroggs. Toonahowi, the nephew of Tomo Chichi, had command of a hundred Indians in the action; he was shot through the right arm by Captain Mageleto; with his left hand, he drew his pistol, went deliberately up to the Captain, in the face of the enemy, shot him through the head, and returned with satisfaction and composure. The enemy were pursued for a mile, and, when the troops were come up, they were posted, together with the Highlanders, in a wood fronting the road, by which the main army, if they advanced, must necessarily come. Having arranged this ambush, he returned to Frederica, to bring up all his men that could be

spared to the engagement, which was hourly expected.

Meantime, Captain Antonio Barba, and two other officers, with two hundred infantry, one hundred grenadiers, with Indians and negroes, advanced with great confidence and halted within a short distance of the place where the General had stationed his party. They stacked their arms, made fires, and were preparing their food, when a horse detected the presence of the concealed party, and betrayed his alarm to his master. The Spaniards seized their arms, and made immediate preparations for the fight; but, before they could make themselves ready, they were shot down in great numbers by their unseen foes, and after their officers had done all they could to form them, with great exposure of their own persons, but without success, they were obliged to fly, leaving their arms and baggage, and in such haste and confusion that many of them were actually shot down with the loaded muskets they had left behind.

As Oglethorpe was returning from Frederica, he heard the distant firing; and while yet two miles from the scene of action, he met his two companies, with the great body of his Indians, who told him that they had been assailed in the wood by the whole Spanish army, and were retreating, defeated and broken, as a heavy shower of rain and the clouds of smoke had prevented their seeing their enemies. He rallied them at once, with sharp reproaches for their weakness, and ordered them to follow him to some strong point, where the Spaniards must be resisted,

or all would be lost. Depending on his familiarity with the ground, he trusted to retrieve the fortune of the day, and hurried forward till he reached the scene of action, where he was happily surprised to see what the result of the engagement had been. The side of the marsh was covered by two hundred grenadiers, who lay dead or dying on the field, while not a living enemy was anywhere in view. All was still, except an occasional Highland shout or Indian yell, which gave notice that another Spaniard had been discovered.

It appeared that, in a first attack of the Spanish force, a panic had seized the men, from the apprehension that the enemy, so greatly superior in force, would take possession of the defile and cut off their retreat. Under the influence of this alarm, they gave way, and the Highlanders reluctantly followed. But, while a portion, the same who were rallied by the General, continued their retreat, Lieutenants Sutherland and Mackay, who commanded the Highland rear-guard, agreed to do what they were able, to save their party from ruin and dishonor, and therefore returned through the underbrush of the forest, and took their station as before. They had hardly reached the ground and concealed themselves, when the Spaniards advanced with the grenadiers, their most efficient corps, in the van. Seeing the footprints of the retreating troops, and seeing that their right was protected by the marsh, and their left, as they supposed, with an impenetrable wall of brushwood, with a border of dry, white sand, they sat down to take that refreshment which their long

service rendered necessary, under the impression that the danger was over and the victory secured to their side. At that moment, a horse was alarmed by the Highland cap, which was lifted as a signal, and a deadly fire was poured in from the wood. Those who attempted to escape by the road were met and hewn down by the Highlanders with broadswords. Others plunged into the woods, where their bones were found a long time after. When it was found that, instead of having a fatal defeat to lament, the English had been victorious, the forest rang with their shouts and congratulations; and the battle of the "Bloody Marsh," as it was called, while it gave them all the encouragement which they so much required, supplied an exciting subject for the legends of after-times.

Oglethorpe made use of this victory to encourage the hearts of the settlers, which had begun to fail; but he was better acquainted than they were with the true state of affairs, and he inclined, with all his fortitude, to doubt whether the defence could be carried through. From Carolina, to which he had a right to look for sympathy, he received no aid whatever; he was left with his slender means to fight her battles as well as his own.

On the 11th, an attempt was made by the galleys to reach the town by water, since the approach by land had been attempted in vain. The galleys came within gun-shot; but bombs were thrown upon them from the fort, and so heavy a fire poured in from the fortifications, that they were compelled to retreat. The General himself led the pursuit, with boats

manned with soldiers of the regiment; he followed them till he had brought himself under the guns of the fleet.

On the 12th, some encouragement was afforded by the statements of two English prisoners, who made their escape from the Spaniards, one from the camp, the other from the fleet. They reported that the enemy were dismayed by the resistance which they encountered in the outset, having no idea that any military force in Georgia would stand a moment against them. Their subsequent experience had not tended to remove the first impression. The numbers who had fallen in the Bloody Marsh; the wretched state of the wounded, who were in want of ordinary comfort and relief; the want of water, which was so great that they were put on half allowance, which, in the summer of such a climate, was a privation hardly to be borne; the sickness, which began to prevail amongst them, and the depression which all these circumstances tended to produce, had led first to councils of war, and afterwards to separation, which became at last so hostile that the troops from Cuba, and those from St. Augustine, encamped at a distance from each other.

It struck the General, at once, that this separation afforded a favorable opportunity to attack them, and to destroy one party by surprise before it could receive aid from the other. With this view, he took three hundred regular troops, with Highlanders, Indians, and rangers, and, being thoroughly familiar with the woods, he led them, by night, within a mile and a half of the Spanish camp, without attracting

attention. Leaving his force there, he took with him a small body of picked men, and went forward to observe their position.

While he was deeply engaged in taking down all the particulars of their situation, which it was desirable to know, on a sudden a Frenchman, who had come with his party, without orders and unobserved, fired his gun, and deserted. The Indians pursued him with all possible haste; but, favored by the darkness of the night, he succeeded in escaping to the Spanish camp. As he would, of course, give the alarm, if it had not been already given by the report of his musket, there was nothing more to be done but to divide the drums into different stations, so as to give the impression that a large force was present, and then to march back in silence to the town.

Determined that the deserter should gain nothing by his treachery, and thinking that the disappointment might be turned to good account, the General projected an ingenious plan for accomplishing both objects—deceiving the Spaniards and punishing the guilty. A letter was written to the deserter in the French language, as if from one of his friends in the English camp, telling him, that he had received the money promised, and that he must endeavor to give the impression to the Spaniards that the English were weak; that he should undertake to pilot their boats and galleys up the river, and contrive to place them directly under the fire of the masked batteries; that, if he succeeded in it, he would render eminent service, and that he and the other French deserters would receive rich rewards. This letter Oglethorpe

gave to a prisoner, whom he hired by a gratuity to pass over to the enemy, and deliver it to the Frenchman who had deserted. The prisoner found his way to the Spanish camp, where he was immediately seized and carried before Monteano. He was asked how he escaped, and whether he had any letters. He declared that he had none; but when he was searched, the letter was found, and he confessed that he had received money to deliver it to the Frenchman. The result was, as the General had foreseen, that the Frenchman was immediately arrested as a spy; a council of war condemned him to death for his treason; it was only by the interposition of Monteano, who had employed him, and therefore felt some interest in him, that he was saved from execution.

So far as the deserter was concerned, the plan succeeded to Oglethorpe's desire; the man was sufficiently punished by his fright and the suspicious position in which the letter placed him. In deceiving the enemy, he was yet more successful. From their former experience, the Spaniards were prepared to believe that the English were far stronger than they at first supposed. The letter conveyed the intelligence that Admiral Vernon was on his way with the English fleet to St. Augustine; that two thousand Carolina troops would immediately join Oglethorpe's forces, and if he, the deserter, could do anything to detain the Spaniards for a few days in their present station, he would be entitled to the highest rewards that the English King could bestow. Some of the Spanish officers suspected that the letter was a

stratagem; others were persuaded that it was genuine, and that it was time for the troops from St. Augustine certainly to hasten home.

But, just at that time, the Carolina vessels, which had been sent to cruise along the coast, appeared in the distance; and, as it seemed to confirm the statements of the letter, there was no longer a doubt in any mind; a panic spread through all their forces; the troops were embarked so precipitately that the dead were left unburied, and the cannon and other stores were abandoned to the foe. On the 14th, they set fire to all the works on St. Simons and Jekyll Islands, which they had labored hard to raise; and on the 15th, the large vessels, with the Havana forces on board, stood out to sea, while the Governor of St. Augustine, with the Florida troops, took passage in the galleys and small vessels, and encamped at Fort St. Andrews, on the north end of Cumberland Island. The failure of the expedition, from which so much was expected, was now complete; and it was evidently owing to the firmness, activity, and skill of the General, who, left to his own resources by those who were bound to aid him, had shown himself equal to the exigency, and thus further established the honor of his name.

CHAPTER XIII

Defence of Fort William.—Oglethorpe sails to St. Augustine.
—Vain Attempt to draw out the Garrison.—Charges brought against him in England.—Honorable Acquittal.—His Marriage.—Inroad of Charles Edward.—Oglethorpe appointed Major-General.—Successes of the Insurgents.

ON the 16th of July (1742) Oglethorpe pursued the retreating Spaniards; and, thinking it not unlikely that they would endeavor to strike a last blow before they left the scene of their dishonor, he sent an express to Ensign Alexander Stewart, who commanded at Fort William, directing him to defend the place to the last extremity, and promising to come to his aid as soon as possible. As he had foreseen, the Spanish fleet appeared off Fort William, and fourteen vessels came into the harbor, requiring the garrison to surrender. This was peremptorily refused. The Spaniards then cannonaded the works from their vessels, and made an attempt to land; but a party of rangers, who had hastily marched to the aid of the garrison, encountered and repulsed them. Stewart had but sixty men; but he sustained himself bravely till the arrival of Oglethorpe, when the enemy, thinking it hopeless to pursue the attempt further, desisted and put out to sea.

There was something surprising in the whole his-

tory of this expedition. After it had been prepared with great command of resources, thoroughly furnished with the necessary means, and intrusted to approved commanders, whose thirst for glory was sharpened by desire of revenge, it ended in loss and shame to the Spaniards, while the English chief, with far inferior numbers, and those disaffected in part, suffering for want of provisions, and oppressed with the feeling that he was deserted by those whose duty it was to sustain him, had maintained himself with firmness even greater than his courage, and, in gaining renown for himself, had delivered his people from all fear of future invasion on that side. Well might Whitefield say, in one of his letters: "The deliverance of Georgia from the Spaniards is such as cannot be paralleled but by some instances out of the Old Testament."

Oglethorpe immediately issued an order for a public thanksgiving to the praise of God, who had thus delivered the people by his mercy and power. Discouraged as the Spaniards were by the complete failure of their enterprise, they were not disposed to submit patiently to their disappointment and shame. Early in 1743, General Oglethorpe heard that they were making preparations for another attempt, in which they hoped to avoid the errors which had led to the defeat of the former. Having found that his government was not to be depended on, and that what was done must be done by his own resources, he thought it better to go forth to meet the blow. Taking with him a detachment of his regiment, a company of grenadiers, together with Highlanders,

rangers, and Indians, he set sail in the direction of St. Augustine.

On his way to reconnoitre St. Augustine, he met with an accident, which had nearly put an end to his life. In firing one of his cannon, it burst, and a piece of a sail-yard struck the General in the face; the blood gushed from his ears and nose in such a manner as greatly to alarm his attendants; but after being stunned awhile, he collected himself, and encouraged his soldiers with his usual composure.

He landed, on the 6th of March, on the Florida side of St. John's River. He found there a party of Spaniards, much more numerous than his own. These he attacked with such vigor that forty were killed, and the remainder made their escape into the castle. He then marched to St. Augustine with a part of his men, having placed the others in ambuscade, trusting that the Spaniards would take courage from the smallness of his force, and leave their walls to pursue him. But, by some means or other, they discovered his troops, who were concealed; and, finding that he could by no means provoke them to a battle, he drew off toward the river. After waiting there for the enemy to come to drive him from their territory, it became evident that they would not put themselves within his reach; he therefore returned to Georgia to strengthen his defences, and to make arrangements for going to England, where his presence was required.

After giving thorough attention to all the military works and civil affairs of the Colony, he took passage, on the 23d of July, in the guard-ship, com-

manded by Captain Thompson. Colonel Heron, Mr. Eyre, sub-engineer, and others of the regiment, accompanied him. On the 25th of September, he reached London, to which he was summoned, to answer an impeachment lodged against him in the war-office by Lieutenant-Colonel Cook. General Oglethorpe insisted on an immediate examination by a board of general officers; but Colonel Cook gave in a list of witnesses, some of whom were in Georgia, others in Carolina, and, as he maintained that they were essential to establish his charges, it was necessary to wait till their testimony could be heard. In consequence of this delay, which was very trying to the General, the court-martial could not enter upon its duties till June 4th, 1744. It required but little time to show that the whole proceeding was malicious and unfounded. After a strict examination into every specification, the court decided that "the whole and every article thereof was groundless, false, and malicious."

It is melancholy to see that the history of General Oglethorpe's connection with Georgia should close thus with an act of self-justification, which, however successful, must have brought with it many wounds to his feelings. He was a most ardent and generous man; and after the entire disinterestedness and self-devotion with which he had given up his wealth and comfort for the sake of the Colony, he could not hear the incessant accusation and complaint of those whom he had served, without feeling as if he had labored in vain. His whole object had been to establish a prosperous, contented, and happy social state,

and he could not say that he had succeeded to his desire. But this has been the history of all such enterprises; the first-fruits are seldom such as can be reaped with exultation and delight; after the first difficulties are over, and the troubled few are melted down in the general prosperity and intelligence of the whole, the view is one which can give greater satisfaction; but too often it happens that by this time the eyes which would have kindled most joyously at the sight of this growing power and happiness are forever closed in death.

Such was not the case with Oglethorpe. He was permitted to see his Colonists growing up into an enlightened, energetic and prosperous community. What further interest he manifested in them and their fortunes we are not able to tell; but it is certain that he felt a lively attachment to America and was one of her warmest friends; and it could not be that, with this concern for the prosperity of the whole people, he should have been indifferent to that part for whose sake he had labored and suffered, spending and ready to be spent for them, with that self-sacrifice which always feels the liveliest interest in the objects of its generosity, however cold and thankless they may be.

Having devoted so large a portion of his life to the service of others, it was but natural that General Oglethorpe should wish for leisure to attend to his private affairs; nor was he to be censured if he desired those social blessings which were within his reach, and which he was eminently fitted to enjoy. The life of the proprietor of a large estate, interested

in the welfare of his tenants, and conscious of his responsibility, can never be an inactive one; nor did he feel as if, in leaving the broader field of philanthropy, he was retiring to a selfish and stagnant repose. In 1744, he married Elizabeth, the only daughter of Sir Nathan Wright, of Cranham Hall, Essex. His chief residence was at his country-seat, at Godalming; there he spent the greater part of the year in agricultural pursuits, and, what he valued more, in improving the condition and promoting the happiness of all about him.

His winters were passed in London, at the ancient family mansion, in St. James's, Westminster, where he attended to his duties as a member of Parliament, and seized the opportunity, which he had denied himself before, of cherishing the acquaintance and enjoying the conversation of the distinguished men who were there gathered into a brilliant circle, and whom the lifelike sketches of Boswell have made familiar to many readers as the most cherished recollections of their former days.

But the country was in an agitated state. In 1745, Charles Edward Stuart made his romantic attempt to recover the throne of his fathers, arriving in England without any force to sustain him, and depending entirely on that traditional feeling of loyalty which, weak as it seems to those who live in a republic, has often proved itself one of the deepest and most disinterested which ever possess the heart. To meet this invasion, Marshal Wade was appointed Commander-in-chief, and Oglethorpe received the commission of Major-General, having under him

several companies of cavalry, one of which bore the name of the Georgia Rangers. These companies were raised at the expense of several loyal individuals, and were placed under the command of Oglethorpe, as the person most likely to employ them to advantage.

But, before the English government could rally itself to do anything efficient, the Highlanders were sweeping down like a torrent from their native mountains. Their spirit rose higher by reason of the hopelessness of their cause. A series of unexpected and remarkable successes gave them a confidence which they did not feel at first; for, wherever they met the enemy, it was found that neither discipline nor numbers could resist their thundering charge. Sir John Cope, who commanded in Scotland, proved himself entirely unequal to the occasion. After a mistaken movement, which opened the way for the insurgents to descend unopposed into the Lowlands, he attempted to bring them to an action at Preston Pans, and to recover the ground that he had lost. But his well-appointed army of three thousand men was broken up at once, by a single charge of the Highlanders, with the loss of five hundred men. Never was a blow struck which tended so much to animate the successful party, and to discourage and cast down the other. Had it not been that the clear judgment of the nation was decidedly opposed to change, so much so that sympathy was yielded up to conviction, the inefficiency of the regular army, and the wild valor of the Highlanders, would have cleared the way at once for Charles Edward to the throne of his fathers.

Neither circumstances nor character enabled Marshal Wade to do anything to resist the invaders. They advanced to Derby, within one hundred miles of London, and the whole nation was filled with dismay. Armies were collected in all directions. The Duke of Cumberland, who had been trumpeted into some sort of military reputation, by reason of that amazement with which men see anything like talent in a prince of the blood, was recalled from Germany, and placed in command of the three armies which enclosed the little band of Highlanders. The coldness of his adherents in England, and the growing disunion of the chiefs, made it necessary for Charles Edward to retreat. Upon this the English army recovered heart; and, though they could not prevent his advance, they hoped to do something to intercept and embarrass his return.

Marshal Wade detached General Oglethorpe, on the 11th of December, with the cavalry under his command, to effect this object, while he himself kept his quiet retreat at Newcastle, out of the reach of honor or of danger. On the 13th, a great body of horse and dragoons, under Oglethorpe, arrived in Preston, after a march of one hundred miles in three days, in one of the severest seasons ever known. The Duke of Cumberland had never shown any great power, when opposed to a hostile army, but was most vigorous and triumphant when the foe was already subdued. He ordered Oglethorpe to continue the pursuit, which was done. But when he overtook the Highlanders, at Shap, his army was exhausted by its incessant labor, and it was determined, in consulta-

tion with his officers, that, instead of an immediate attack, the soldiers should enter the village to obtain the rest and refreshment which their exhausted state required, and to make the assault in the morning.

The Duke's army was in motion, not far in the rear of his own. When it reached Shap, in the morning, it passed on, leaving Oglethorpe's force behind. From being the vanguard of the English army, it thus became the rear. Without inquiring into the circumstances which had produced this result, the Commander-in-chief, intoxicated with triumph at the novel sight of an enemy retreating before him, and desirous to exalt his own activity at the expense of others, ordered Oglethorpe to be brought before a court-martial for having lingered on the road. The trial took place in September, 1746, and the result, as might have been expected, was that the necessity for the halt became evident; it was clear, that an attack, under the circumstances, would have implied both inhumanity and rashness, and the General was honorably acquitted of the charge.

CHAPTER XIV

Croker's Edition of Boswell.—His Opinion of Oglethorpe.—Johnson offers to write his Life.—His Conversation.—His political Opinions.—Appointed General of all the Forces.

MR. CROKER, in his edition of Boswell, in one of those notes which throw much more light upon his own character than upon his subject, makes some empty and bitter remarks in relation to this matter, in which he infers from Boswell's expressions that Oglethorpe had in vain solicited some mark of distinction to heal his wounded feelings. Boswell's words imply no such thing; they simply show his own opinion that General Oglethorpe had not been treated with the consideration which he deserved, and that many inferior men were in honor preferred before him. It may have been true that his friends felt this neglect; but that General Oglethorpe complained, there is not the least proof, and it is disgraceful thus, from mere conjecture, to fasten a reproach upon his name.

In the whole construction of his work Croker was thus haunted by imaginations. When Hogarth describes his first interview with Johnson, and the fierce eloquence with which he denounced George the Second, as having, with his own hand, struck from the list of the army an officer of high rank, who had been acquitted by a court-martial, Croker thinks that

Oglethorpe was the person alluded to, though George the Second, instead of striking him from the list, confirmed the sentence by which he was honorably acquitted. There is no such criticism and conjecture. General Oglethorpe was not employed, indeed, because he had no purpose of leaving his country again; but he was promoted in the very year after his court-martial, and as much employed and honored as an independent politician can ever expect to be.

The notices of General Oglethorpe, scattered through Boswell's work, are of great interest and value, because they are incidental; and as he had no particular view to the General's character, either to raise or depress it, it is clear that his statements, and even his impressions, may be trusted. Certainly they were those of Johnson, whose strong common sense was the most remarkable of his great powers, and who looked with sharp and searching investigation through the virtues and weaknesses of those among whom he was thrown. To General Oglethorpe he felt grateful for his applause at a time when praise was important to him; but there is no reason to believe that his gratitude for this kind of service affected his judgment, though it inspired in him a respectful and friendly regard.

On Monday, April 10th, 1775, Boswell says, "I dined with him, Johnson, at General Oglethorpe's, with Mr. Langton and the Irish Dr. Campbell, whom the General had obligingly given me leave to bring with me. This learned gentleman was thus gratified with a very high intellectual feast, by not only being

in company with Dr. Johnson, but with General Oglethorpe, who had so long been a celebrated name, both at home and abroad. Johnson urged General Oglethorpe to give the world his life. He said, 'I know no man whose life would be more interesting. If I were furnished with materials, I should be very glad to write it.' " In a note Boswell adds, "The General seemed unwilling to enter upon it at this time; but upon a subsequent occasion he communicated to me a number of particulars which I have committed to writing; but I was not sufficiently diligent in obtaining more from him, not apprehending that his friends were so soon to lose him; for, notwithstanding his great age, he was always healthy and vigorous, and was at last carried off by a violent fever, which often proves fatal at any period of life."

The only passage of this work, which gives such a living impression of all whom it describes, in which any light is thrown upon the conversation of General Oglethorpe, is this: "The uncommon vivacity of General Oglethorpe's mind, and his variety of knowledge, having sometimes made his conversation seem too desultory, Johnson observed, 'Oglethorpe, Sir, never completes what he has to say.' "

In a conversation at Dr. Johnson's house, General Oglethorpe said, "The House of Commons has usurped the power of the nation's money, and used it tyrannically. Government is now carried on by corrupt influence, instead of the inherent right of the King." Upon this, Croker remarks: "When he says that government was carried on by corrupt influence, instead of the inherent right of the King, he

must mean, if he means anything, that the King ought to rule in his own exclusive right, and by his own despotic will, and without the aid or the control of Parliament, whose assent to the measures of the Crown must be obtained by *influence of some kind*, or anarchy must ensue." He thinks, therefore, that the General talked nonsense; but most readers would consider it quite as well that the sovereign should possess power in his own right, as that he should hold it by a pawnbroking system of hire and corruption.

On one occasion, Boswell relates: "General Oglethorpe declaimed against luxury. Johnson said, 'Depend upon it, Sir, every state of society is as luxurious as it can be. Men always take the best that they can get.' Oglethorpe answered, 'But the best depends much upon ourselves; and if we can be as well satisfied with plain things, we are in the wrong to accustom our palates to what is high-seasoned and expensive. What says Addison, in his "Cato," speaking of the Numidian?"

"Coarse are his meals, the fortune of the chase;
Amid the running stream he slakes his thirst;
Toils all the day, and, at the approach of night,
On the first friendly bank he throws him down,
Or rests his head upon a rock till morn;
And if, the following day, he chance to find
A new repast, or yet untasted spring,
Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury." "

This is interesting, because it proceeds from one who had made voluntary experiment of those simple habits of life which he thus approves. Johnson says

truly of the great majority of mankind, that they always take the best they can get, and there are few, who, with luxuries within their reach, would have self-command enough not to enjoy them. But such was Oglethorpe; for the sake of accomplishing a generous purpose, he submitted readily to hardship and privation, without the feeling that he was making a sacrifice; and he found his reward in a long life of health and happiness, exempt from infirmity and pain to the last.

Dr. Warton, speaking of General Oglethorpe, said, "I had the pleasure of knowing him well;" and, in reference to Pope's well-known couplet, he remarked, "Here are lines, which will justly confer immortality on a man, who well-deserved so magnificent a eulogium. He was at once a great hero and a great legislator. The vigor of his mind and body has seldom been equalled. The vivacity of his genius continued to great old age. The variety of his adventures, and the very different scenes in which he had been engaged, made me regret that his life has never been written. Dr. Johnson once offered to do it, if the General would furnish the materials. Johnson had a great regard for him, for he was one of the first persons who, in all companies, praised his 'London.' His first campaign was made under Prince Eugene against the Turks, and that great general always spoke of Oglethorpe in the highest terms. But his settlement of the Colony of Georgia gave a greater lustre to his character than even his military exploits."

It has been already mentioned that he was pro-

moted in the army, in 1747. On the establishment of the British Herring Fishery in 1750, he took a part, and became one of the Council. In pursuance of the duties of that office, he delivered to the Prince of Wales, on the 25th of October, the act of incorporation, with an address which was printed in the public journals. In February, 1765, he received the rank of General of all his Majesty's Forces, and, for many years before his death, was the oldest general on the staff. It does not appear from this, that he was, as Croker says, laid on the shelf; a phrase which better describes the fate of an editor's volumes, than of Oglethorpe's military life. That he was honored as some others of equal merit would have been, cannot be maintained; for he would not sacrifice his independence, and, according to Croker's theory of influence, such rewards as governments can give will be appropriated, in general, to slaves of party.

One circumstance is mentioned, with respect to this independence of spirit, which, if true, would form a graceful close to his active public life. McCall tells the story in his "History of Georgia," and his account is confirmed by the patient and accurate Ramsay, though the authority on which they made the assertion cannot now be discovered. It is, that when the Revolutionary war began, the offer of the command in America was tendered to General Oglethorpe, who was higher in rank, as well as in reputation, than Sir William Howe. He declared in answer that he knew the Americans well; they could never be subdued by arms; but their obedience might be secured at any time by doing them justice; and

if he might be authorized to assure the Colonies that they should be justly dealt with, he was ready to accept the command, which otherwise he should decline. Such a man was not suited to the purposes of government at the time; he therefore remained at home, and Sir William Howe came to prove the truth of Oglethorpe's prediction, that the Americans could not be conquered by arms. The story, at least, deserves to be true; it is in full harmony with his character and his well-known opinions. Well would it have been for the other generals of the British army, who lost their honor in America, if they had refused to be instruments of oppression; there was not one who gained any reputation in the war, with the exception of Cornwallis; and whatever credit as a tactician he acquired in the long southern campaign, was overshadowed by one act of blood in South Carolina, which leaves a stain upon his memory such as no time can wear away.

CHAPTER XV

Horace Walpole, Hannah More, and Burke.—Oglethorpe's Visit to John Adams.—Success of Wesley.—Oglethorpe's public Character and private Virtues.—His successful Resistance of Age.—His Death.

THE reader of Horace Walpole, who might chance to have faith in his entertaining gossip, would not have a very exalted idea of General Oglethorpe, to whom he pays such compliments as he usually bestowed on all who were not of his social circle or his party. To one who makes large allowance for his prejudice and temper, his lively narrative throws light upon the history and men of his day; but if he were so fortunate as to find a full believer, which, probably, he never did, it would lead to grotesque misapprehensions of the truth; for what measure of true information could be gathered from him to whom Washington was a charlatan? In the same spirit, and with the same discrimination, he represented Oglethorpe as a bully. Some instances of rashness in his conduct there undoubtedly are; he had been trained up with the military idea of honor, and a spirit naturally ardent at times betrayed him into haste and passion, from which, in later years, he was free.

But, as Lord Mahon says, "All the stories of Horace Walpole are to be received with great caution;

his "Reminiscences," above all, written in his dotage, teem with the grossest inaccuracies and incredible representations." It is not, therefore, necessary to say anything of his attacks on Oglethorpe, either in the way of defence or explanation. A man's character must be judged by the prevailing direction of his life; and no ridicule, or sneer can touch a reputation founded on lofty philanthropy and self-denying love of men, traits of character which Walpole was not able to understand.

Some interesting particulars respecting General Oglethorpe may be gathered from those animated passages in the letters of Hannah More, in which she describes her impressions of those high circles of London society in which she was so great a favorite in her earlier days. In a letter to her sister, in 1784, she says, "I have got a new admirer; it is General Oglethorpe, perhaps the most remarkable man of his time. He was foster-brother to the Pretender, and is much above ninety years old; the finest figure you ever saw. He perfectly realizes all my ideas of Nestor. His literature is great, his knowledge of the world extensive, and his faculties as bright as ever. He is one of the three persons, still living, who were mentioned by Pope; Lord Mansfield and Lord Marchmont are the other two. He was the intimate friend of Southern, the tragic poet, and of all the wits of that time. He is, perhaps, the oldest man, of a gentleman, living. I went to see him the other day, and he would have entertained me by repeating passages of Sir Eldred. He is quite a *preux chevalier*, heroic, romantic, and full

of the old gallantry." In another letter she mentions having seen him at Mrs. Vesey's, where the Duchess of Portland and Mrs. Delany were present, and where, she says, "Mr. Burke talked a great deal of politics with General Oglethorpe. He told him, with great truth, that he looked on him as a more extraordinary person than any he had ever read of; for he had founded the province of Georgia, had absolutely called it into existence, and had lived to see it severed from the empire which created it, and become an independent State." The respect of Burke was an ample compensation for the contempt of Walpole, in their own age; but half-a-century has brought with it an immense addition of authority to the compliment of the one, and taken all power to injure from the hatred and sarcasm of the other.

The circumstance, however, which most interests an American reader, is the account of his visit to John Adams, when he first arrived in England, in the capacity of minister of the United States. It shows that the General always retained his interest in this country; and, though his associations and habits of thought were not such as to encourage great confidence in popular self-government, that he was ready to show his respect for those who had resisted what they thought oppression, and made a successful effort to be free. A day or two after Mr. Adams's arrival in London had been announced in the public prints, General Oglethorpe waited on him, as he said, "to pay his respects to the first American ambassador and his family, whom he was glad to see in England; he expressed a great esteem and regard

for America, and much regret at the misunderstanding between the countries, and felt very happy to have lived to see a termination of it."

Fifty years had been sufficient to form and ripen the fruit which it commonly requires centuries to mature. In connection with this vast and rapid development of life and power, it is interesting to think of Wesley, whose active history began in Georgia, and not with the happiest promise of success; but his strong mind and heart, working with the energy of conviction and the inspiration of love, had not only gained him a hearing from those who at first turned contemptuously away, but also had deprived his early persecutors of the power, and even the wish to injure, by making it clear to them that his moving principle was regard for the souls of men. So high had his authority risen and his influence spread that, in this same year, he was sending over to America a commission to establish churches after his own heart, in which his own spirit should prevail, and his name be treasured with as much veneration as man should ever give to man.

The public character of the subject of this memoir is sufficiently described in the account of his efforts and sacrifices for the welfare of others. From this it appears, that under those circumstances of prosperity which commonly harden and narrow the heart, with those graces of person and advantages of birth and fortune which so often bring utter selfishness, he turned away from the attractions of pleasure to the service of his fellowmen, and particularly of those whom other Samaritans had passed by. His

views for their benefit were large as well as generous; he aimed not merely to relieve their immediate suffering, but to replace them in the field of life, from which they had retreated in despair; having no doubt that, under a new social system, more liberal, impartial, and free from ancient abuses, they could recover their energy and become useful and happy men, forming a community, which should present an inspiring and encouraging example to the superannuated nations of the Old World.

These views were such as only great minds originate; and great hearts are required to apply them to action. That they were formed in his mind by its own power, and not by sympathy with others, is evident to every one who traces the story of their birth; and no one will think of denying that they were carried out with a disinterestedness which regarded every sacrifice as easy, and every labor light; and which did not even complain, when its good was evil spoken of, and repaid with injury and upbraiding.

It does not always happen that they who are engaged in extensive plans of benevolence, are attentive also to the smaller charities of daily life, on which so much, both of happiness and character, depends. There have been some melancholy examples of inconsistency between the public and private life, even where there was no suspicion that the professed philanthropy was owing to thirst for applause. But in General Oglethorpe there was no such disproportion. There is testimony to prove that his private benevolence was great. His tenants always found

in him an indulgent landlord and a faithful friend; far from oppressing them with exactions, he often supported a tenant whose situation was doubtful, not merely forbearing to require his rent, but lending him money to go on with his farm.

Those small attentions to the interest and happiness of his friends, which imply a delicate humanity, that desire to shun the guilt of giving pain, and that ready sympathy with the joys and sorrows of others, which is found only in good hearts, were seen in the daily history of his life; for, whether manifested in the form of charity, friendship, hospitality, and in all good feeling, his social kindness was always overflowing; not limiting itself to the grateful and deserving, but going forth warmly to every condition of humanity, and most familiarly present where evil could be resisted or any good be done. It was this which secured him the general respect and regard, and the strong attachment of a few friends would be enough, if necessary, to overbalance the censure of a thousand foes.

The defects of General Oglethorpe's character were of the kind which are apt to be found in active and energetic men. There have been very few men distinguished in history in whom gentleness and force of character have been united; they are not inconsistent with each other; indeed, they require to be united to form a finished character; but for the most part it is found that those who accomplish great things in the world are somewhat deficient in the graces and virtues which give a charm to private life. Educated in the army as he was, and of course

trained in the false ideas of honor which prevail there, he was somewhat jealous of the appearance of affront and wrong. This self-justifying illusion rather encouraged his natural haste of temper, which otherwise he might have taken pains to suppress. But, however quick to take offence, he was open to conviction, ready to confess his error, and earnest to make reparation for any injury he had done.

An impression is sometimes given that he was vain of his exploits and services, and that he enjoyed being the hero of his own tale. It appears to be mere matter of inference; it is not easy to find any authority for charging him with such folly; it is only presumed that one who had lived to extreme old age, after bearing a distinguished part in the field of life, would naturally fall into the habit of fighting his battles over again, and giving the chronicle of his own deeds. But it might rather be presumed that a finished gentleman, whose company was universally sought in circles which are not usually tolerant to such infirmity, had escaped the tendency to self-exaltation which often comes with age. The complaint which Dr. Johnson made of his conversation, that he did not finish what he had to say, indicates deficiency, rather than excess; it would hardly have been said of one who delighted to talk much of himself and his own deeds.

The truth is, that his mind, as well as his body, was exempt from the usual decline of age. His habits of temperance and activity saved him from bodily disease, so that his form, which was always remarkable for dignified grace, remained unbent by

the weight of more than ninety years. His senses were almost unimpaired; even his sight remained perfect to the last. By following a rigid system of self-resistance, he kept the elasticity of his mind; never suffering it to become stagnant, as many do, and thus bringing on themselves premature and needless decay. He maintained an interest in what was passing around him; he did not withdraw his concern from public affairs when time obliged him to resign them to other hands; if one set of cares and duties were no longer in his reach, he found others to engage his attention; and by this wise and faithful determination, sustained by great firmness of purpose, he was able to preserve his activity and happiness at the age when most men are either in helpless decay or in the grave.

Concerning the death of General Oglethorpe, no particulars are recorded. It was not owing, as might have been expected, to the decay of nature. He was seized with a violent fever, of which he died, after a short illness, on the 30th of June, 1785, leaving a memory which will be more honored in coming generations than in that which immediately followed his own.



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